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.....

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CHANDLER WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE
APRIL 24, 1933 WELLES, MD 17

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Is separatism dead?



12 The open fight over political strategy that erupted between Quebec Premier Jacques Parizeau and Bloc Québécois Leader Lucien Bouchard threatened to sink the sovereignty drive for independence. But in Quebec, both federalists and separatists cautioned that the sovereignty movement is far from dead—and could stage a come-back.

The battle for Chrysler



36 **Financier Kirk**
Kerkorian and friend
Lee Iacocca racked Chrysler
Corp. with a \$30-billion takeover
bid. It was a U-turn for the
mercenary Iacocca who had
denounced hostile takeovers
when he ran Chrysler.

Feeling the heat



52 On the 25th Earth Day, environmentalists have reasons to celebrate, including cleaner lakes, less acid rain and an array of laws aimed at protecting the planet's ecosystem. But activists have yet to be persuaded to drastically cut back the automobile emissions that may be superheating the Earth's atmosphere.

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LETTERS

Cut to the bone

As a Canadian physician who has worked on both sides of the border, I am convinced that the health-care system in Canada is superior to that in the United States. I disagree, however, with those who maintain that the Canadian standard of care will remain unchanged despite massive cuts in funding ("Medicare wars," *Canada*, April 3). The reason why our health-care standards are so high is that there are more doctors per capita and patient care is not delegated to less qualified health-care personnel. Should our children also be in larger classes and educated by teacher's assistants in order to save money?

Dr. Daniel Mervin,
Burlington, Mass.

It is clear that private money is not only needed in the health-care system, but actually would be good for it. The alleged barriers of the two-tiered system are drastically overstated: the very real barriers of the single-tiered system, however, are only beginning.

Dr. Carolyn T. Lee,
Burlington, Ont. 22

The free market is morally sound—benevolent and compassionate are not what it is about. A free-market-style health-care system would be cheaper if it really allowed governments to collect more taxes, but a would not be fairer and it would cause the rapid erosion of Canada's health-care standards. If Canadian taxpayers allow it to be forced upon them, they should understand what they are endorsing and what will be its consequences.

Mary McInnis,
South St. Marys, Ont.

The hippo lives

Your bookish job review of Linda McQuinn's book, *Shooting the Hippo* ("At last, the gun!" *Books*, April 10) missed the main point. Artificially high interest rates are the root of the exploding deficit. Social programs spending, despite what legends of Bush-Landolph warriors would have us believe, is not a significant factor. Who is the main beneficiary of high interest rates? The business/lending industry, that's who. Perhaps it's time for them to give a little back to the country that so generously supports them.

The Silver
Solomon, B.C.



Hospital roomers seek one standard he maintained despite funding cuts?

Photo opportunity

Regarding "the true" (Cover, April 10) and your cover photo featuring Bart Browning surrounded by women doctors, a cover like this is a political statement that renders any coverage of gender equality as hypocritical and self-serving.

Claude Morrison,
Toronto

Women in blue

Hins off to the boys in blue of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Service. They gave me a chance to prove myself as a person capable of handling the awesome responsibility that comes with being a constable. Thank you to my father for teaching me that I am a woman first, and to never lose my self-respect. I never wanted to be treated as one of the boys and I'm proud to say I never was ("Arming for respect," *Life*, April 10). Policewomen all the best. If you are unable to command the respect of your fellow constables, then turn in your badge and give your job to a professional woman who can.

Maria O'Connor-Johnston,
Deputy sheriff,
Halifax

Wartime hockey

In your very interesting article devoted to a generation of individuals who placed their lives on the line during the Second World War, I found it depressing that you implied hockey star Maurice Richard, by not volunteering to join the military in 1942, took advantage of the absence of several experienced players to allow the league's first 50-

goal season ("From centre ice to front lines," *Cover*, April 3). In a democracy, Richard was not compelled to volunteer for military service, nor was he conscripted.

Leah S. Chisholm,
Calgary

'Hell's kitchens'

Reading "Masters of the universe" (*Business*, March 20), I was beginning to think that maybe money trading is of some benefit to the world after all. But the last paragraph spoiled it all: it tells me that the "quonibad" that runs the currency and trading desks will continue to do just fine "as long as Canada's governments continue to spend more than they take in." Back to my belief that money trading floors are hell's kitchens.

A.P. Brindley,
Winnipeg

Rooted in history

Peter C. Newman might be persuasive in his apocalyptic tirade about the federal Conservative party ("Will this Tory scowling be the last goodbye?" *The Nation's Business*, April 10). Although the Conservatives may now be on the back side of the federal scene, they are still a mile deep in the consciousness of the nation. Reform, in its best, may now appear to be a male wife, but they are perhaps only as such deep within Canadian souls.

Julie Delaney,
Mississauga, Ont.

Multiple address readers: your last letter may be added for space and clarity. Please include your address and daytime telephone number. Your letters to the Editor, *Nation's Business*, 200 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5T 2B7. Fax: (416) 591-7330. E-mail: letters@nationbiz.ca

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As the welfare rolls mount (323% in the last 5 years in Ontario alone) and family fragmentation grows (20% of all families are run by single parents today), life for many adults has become a cycle of constant stress and worry. This in turn rubs off on children who are very sensitive to what is happening around them.

Added to this is the alarming rate of violence witnessed by kids in their homes (estimated at 135,000 annually in Ontario).

The deterioration of mental health as children has now reached a very critical stage. Statistics show that 23% of all 3 year olds today have serious problems handling aggression, and that 71% of seriously aggressive 6 year olds grow up

to be violent, anti-social adults.

If the new knowledge we have about effective prevention and treatment could be applied today, this alarming trend could be reversed. But funds are urgently required for community based training, research, consultation and public education.

So please, give generously. Remember, you are investing in something very precious that affects us all. The future of our children.

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LETTERS

Success at home

Congratulations on "Canadian rock on-planet" (Cover, March 27). Most encouraging was the suggestion that the ultimate success of Canadian musicians no longer hinges on whether they have achieved success in the United States.

Stephen Gittel,
Windsor, Ont.

Working together

In your coverage of the federal budget, Leckie was given the Liberal government for taking responsibility for its spending ("Re-making Canada," Cover, March 12). But how many Canadians have taken responsibility for their own "government spending," including unconsciously going to the doctor for minor illnesses, and cross-border shopping—will not decline their purchases. Many Canadians living of looking the system, yet those same Canadians complain when cuts are made to social spending. Now is the time to advocate responsible citizenship.

Len Dalkowski,
Windsor, Ont.

Community spirit

While I applaud the efforts of James F. Sullivan and her five concert pianist colleagues to bring music to rural and isolated communities at much less than their normal fees ("Piano on appeal," People, March 6), this is not the first time that "world-class" performing artists have done this. For over 30 years, Nelson Korts has been leading his piano into his van and driving it across the country to perform in almost every small town and large city between Halifax and Victoria. And there are many other performers who have driven themselves to trying conditions to bring their music to the widest variety of audiences possible.

Judith Albano,
Vancouverite, Kinsler artist
Toronto

Not only in Canada

Just for the record, Dr. Fath, there is at least one other place in the universe where you must go to see one place to buy beer and another to buy "ferry boats." Who says Canada is dull? (Cover, March 29). That is Tennessee: the back of the Bible Belt.

Michael R. Turner,
Nashville, Tenn.



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OPENING NOTES

A COVERUP ON PARLIAMENT HILL

Since 1887, the 395-foot Peace Tower in Ottawa has stood as a symbol of Canadian unity. But about a year ago, security guards on Parliament Hill began to find hidden chunks of masonry scattered on the ground below the tower. The result of decades of water and seismic damage to the tower's masonry. Even though the repairs to the towerwork, which began in October, are nearly completed, the project's steel scaffolding and girders are now in place to allow for the tower's masonry to be replaced. The tower's masonry is now in place to allow for the tower's masonry to be replaced. The tower's masonry is now in place to allow for the tower's masonry to be replaced.

The Peace Tower's steel scaffolding.



IS THE POPE POLISH?

Pope John Paul II set his greetings to all Catholics last week through Prime Minister Jean Charest—except that it was not Charest but rather an aide of the Pope. The conversation was the work of Pierre Brossard, a member of Les Amis du Pape (The Pope's Friends). The comedy troupe—which consists of Brossard, Christian Tancienne, Jacques Gosselin and François Ducharme—was known to French-speaking Canadians in the hosts of TV series. Last September, they took their act to Montreal radio station 92.7 FM where Brossard, 28, recently impersonated both Charest and Quebec Premier Jacques Parizeau—the impostors both convinced Brossard to support their act in the September debate. But the group's biggest coup was last week's call to the Pope—although skeptics question whether it really was John Paul. "La

Research: a phone bill on proof



Archer's journey ending Vietnam

The Spirit of Lebanon, a 1984 film about a pole on the edge of Victoria's inner harbor, was named last August and each group and ceremony. With the B.C. capital putting in host the XV Commonwealth Games, the Victoria Commonwealth Games Society had wanted to set a record of its own: the world's tallest pole. Now, however, many residents consider the structure—how it is built and how it is supported by steel beams and guy wires and has lighting and lights on top to warn airplanes using the harbor—to be an eyesore. The controversy has even moved old residents away from local native bonds.

They think, for one, a world-renowned Vietnam veteran and artist and the head of the Vietnam Veterans of America, who accepted the pole as a gift to the Vietnamese people of the local Saigonese boat, disaster. "There may be something that's not very good, but it is not it is not bad," he says. "The pole says that" and Richard Kenna, a Vancouver Island lawyer turned artist, defends his design as a counterpoint to the local localism of the pole. He says, "The pole says that" and Richard Kenna, a Vancouver Island lawyer turned artist, defends his design as a counterpoint to the local localism of the pole. He says, "The pole says that" and Richard Kenna, a Vancouver Island lawyer turned artist, defends his design as a counterpoint to the local localism of the pole.

THE SOMETHING FISHY IN THE TAIL



In recent weeks, Fisheries Minister Brian Tobin has signed a war of words—and arrests—against Spanish boats fishing the Grand Banks just outside Canadian waters. But while Canadian and European Union negotiators were trying to reach a diplomatic solution in Brussels, Tobin's image as Canada's chief harbor warrior was being reinforced on the home front. The B.C. Federation of Labour sent a three-page message on March 13, asking Tobin to intervene in the negotiation of Alaska's Kuskokwim project in Ketchikan, B.C., arguing that the provincial government's decision to limit the lobster fishery to give it power at the project would threaten the West Coast jobs. But because of an incorrect postal code, Canada Post delivered the letter not to Tobin's Parliament Hill office—but to the Canadian War Museum.

Tobin: a war of words and arrests

PASSAGES



BABY: The surviving 60-year-old Blomquist, Goble, Annette and Tronzo, the Ontario government for allegedly exploiting them as children, for 114 weeks. Shortly after the five identical women were born north of the border, the province served guardianship and housed them in a three-part, Quintland, that became a major family attraction. The sisters, who live together on Marlborough South Shore, claim the province manipulated them for the money promised by their public display. Ontario Premier Bob Rae said he was "sympathetic" to their plight.

DOD: Folksinger and actor Bert Berni, 85, of memory, at his home in Ancaster, Ont. The best-known actor role was as the Daily in Tennessee Williams' *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, a part he played in a movie and on Broadway. He was a Best Supporting Actor Oscar in *The Day After Tomorrow* (1956). As a balladeer, he is best known for his recordings of children's songs and folk songs such as *People's Songbook* and *The New York City*.

DEB: Former Indian prime minister Manmohan Singh, 59, who in 1977 became the country's first leader from outside the Congress Party. A Congress member through India's independence struggle, Singh served as the chairman of Jawaharlal Nehru's son's daughter, Indira Gandhi. After he split with Gandhi, he had been imprisoned for 21 months during a state of emergency that ended just before Dehra's election to power. A Dehra, Singh became reformer in age 30 after leaving the children and continued a diet of fruit, milk and his own wine.

DEB: Chinese pianist Chen Yuen 10, a longtime rival of Communist party leader Deng Xiaoping and senior critic of Deng's market reforms, in a Beijing hospital.

DEB: Leonard Bushnell, 46, singer Anne Murray's personal assistant, of cancer, in a Toronto hospital. Born in Sydney, N.S., Bushnell also figured prominently in the careers of entertainers George Fox and Rita MacNeil.

DEB: Peter, actor and artist Claire Pratt, 74, of respiratory illness, in a Toronto hospital. The daughter of poet E.K. Pratt, she battled polio and osteoporosis and had 66 operations throughout her life.

THE WAITING CONTINUES

It can happen. Judge Proulx, for seven months without ever being charged, was finally released and flew home to Montreal. But for another Canadian held in a foreign jail, the wait continues. Tran Tru Quynh, 45, who emigrated from Vietnam in 2000 and holds a Canadian passport, was detained in Hanoi last March. The Quebec City resident owns a small import-export business and had borrowed a \$1 million debt to sell cotton to the Asian country. When the shipment failed to arrive, Quynh flew to Hanoi to investigate. But the Vietnamese, who paid for the cotton, arrested Quynh. They have yet to charge him with any crime—but are demanding \$500,000 before they will begin negotiating his release. "He is completely cut off from the outside world," said his wife, Nguyen My Phuc. Philippe Parn, a Blue Cross spokesman, said Quynh is still in Hanoi and critic for development aid, has been one of the last voices raised on Quynh's behalf. "The federal government has been Vietnamese aid in aid," said Parn. "That is the only thing, a Canadian in a Viet-



Quynh, demands of \$500,000 to negotiate his release

namese prison." Officials with the department of foreign affairs in Ottawa say there is little they can do. "Vietnam does not recognize that criminal," said Foreign Affairs spokesman Jennifer Bloom. "Quynh is being treated like a Vietnamese citizen." And that could mean it will be months before Nguyen sees his husband.

Edited by BARBARA WICKENS

BEST-SELLERS

FICTION

1. *The Celestine Prophecy*, James Redfield (2)
2. *Out of Africa*, Isak Dinesen (2)
3. *Polk's Country Cookbook*, James F. Polk (1)
4. *Wings, James Joyce* (1)
5. *A Day's Life*, Peter Mayo (1)
6. *Wishful World*, Tony Daniels (2)
7. *Stephen's World*, James Gosselin (2)
8. *Stephen's World*, James Gosselin (2)
9. *Stephen's World*, James Gosselin (2)
10. *Angel of Death*, John Hughes (1)

1-2 Published weekly

NONFICTION

1. *Smoking the Mirror*, Linda 10/10 (2)
2. *Close to the Sun*, Greg Gosselin (2)
3. *Days of Making*, Tim Burt and Ann Burt
4. *An Anthology on Mary, John Sells (1)*
5. *Being English*, Victoria Hughes (2)
6. *Mary and Victoria in the British John Sells (1)*
7. *Smoking the Mirror*, Greg Gosselin (2)
8. *The New Zone*, Richard Proulx (1)
9. *Waiting in the Sun*, Richard Proulx (1)
10. *On the Table*, John Gosselin (2)

Credited by Brian Burt

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And consult your physician

ANOTHER VIEW



Why there is hope for Canada's left

BY CHARLES GORDON

There is a federal NDP leadership available in Canada, and people are wondering if it is worth having. It is a good thing to have in these troubled times. But what kind of job is it?

More specifically, what future does the left have in this country—assuming that the NDP is the left, which once was an easy assumption? If there isn't a future, who would want to lead the NDP? It can hardly be a satisfying prospect, sitting with a handful of MPs in the House of Commons, rising whenever the rules permit, to plead with the government not to hurt anyone too much while it dismantles the social service after another.

In the long, long run, there probably is a future. There are cycles in politics and the present situation, in which foreign bond traders rule: Canadian domestic policy while our children check for the deficit under the bed before retiring at night, won't last forever. Thirty years ago, the right thought it was finished. Now, it looks like it will succeed.

But the long, long run is not the question for the weakling NDP leaders. What of the next five years, the next 10? There are pros and cons. Here are eight reasons why the left appears doomed.

1. Recent history. The NDP had a chance to break through in at least one of the past three federal elections. It failed to do so. The people may not want it to break through. Now, reduced to a few MPs, it cannot command the attention it needs to rebuild its reputation.

2. The neoconservative slash and burn agenda has not caused mass outrage. Jean Chrétien, who is implementing it, is as popular as ever. Ralph Klein, the biggest slash-and-burner in the country, seems to be the least of Alberta.

3. A quick look around reveals no charismatic politicians upon whose contacts the left can ride.

The present situation, in which our children check for the deficit under the bed before retiring at night, won't last forever

4. Provincial NDP governments, which should be providing a popular and organizational base for federal growth, are proving to be a liability, especially in Ontario and British Columbia. Not only are they unpopular, but their conservative underpinnings are sure to eventually generate a left-of-centre program suddenly.

5. If the bond traders and international financial institutions are really as strong and hostile as they are reported to be, any policies other than the timid ones of the neoconservatives face a difficult fight.

6. Whether or not the bond traders and international financial institutions are really strong and hostile, the media believe they are. By and large, editorial boards, reporters and commentators have bought into the dogma of a decade of neoconservatism. They look under the bed for the deficit at night, too.

7. Partly as a result of this, the people have lost faith in institutions in general and government in particular. Any set of policies that asks to give government to improve our lives will be a tough sell.

8. Even reasonable people, those who check under the bed for bond traders, recog-

nize that big money is not there to be thrown at problems.

Conclusion: Support for a left-wing agenda is lacking, as is the means of implementing it.

In all hope lost, then? Not necessarily. Here are eight reasons why the left does have a future in Canada.

1. Recent history. Jean Chrétien is popular, but he was elected on a essentially a left-of-centre platform. That his government has kept its support in shoddy debt it may have to do with Chrétien's personal appeal as a politician.

2. Chrétien's popularity, and perhaps even that of Klein, could be a signal that Canadians are tired of having those who govern them. In time, they might even warm again to the idea of government as an active force.

3. While the deficit dominates public discussion, public opinion polls continually show far less concern about it among the general public, who are more concerned about jobs. A party that talked about something else for a change might not be too severely punished.

4. Deficit reduction may be vital to the financial community and editorial writers, but it lacks political appeal in the long run. There is a tendency, a long-term concern, and a possibility that it is not appealing to people who think of problems as something to be solved. Voters would like to think they are voting for something positive, even if all they are doing is throwing the rocks out.

5. Eventually and inevitably, the neocons will be the muscle.

6. The deficit isn't going away, if recent history is any indication. The more Brian Mulroney talked it, the more Ronald Reagan hated it, the bigger it got. When it is still down 15 years from now, can political momentum still prosper by underestimating it?

7. There is a good-heartedness and capacity for idealism in the Canadian people that reveals itself at unexpected times. Look as far back as Centennial Year and last year's charitable response to the Bosnian refugees. Look at the outpouring of public support for Jerry Fox, for Jackie Bouvier, for the people of Somalia. Canadians have the potential to support bold and generous ideas and these ideas are not going to come from the deficit wings.

8. No party is saying anything of interest to voters. Politically, they are an unengaged resource. A positive-sounding party, even of the left, could be attractive to them.

Conclusion: There is hope, in an off-hand way. If the left can come up with the ideas to harness the idealism, to solve the problems it has created. No one wants to read of these ideas yet. Anyone who wants to lead the NDP should have some.

Just as it is not enough to be against the deficit, so it is not enough to be against those who are against the deficit. The left has to decide what it is for. Then, the country can decide if it is the left.



The spat between Bouchard and Parizeau strikes at the heart of the movement

BY BARRY CAHILL

It is pictures worth a thousand words, there were no fewer in the one that appeared last week on the front page of almost every newspaper in Quebec. It captured Jacques Parizeau and Lucien Bouchard rubbing shoulders at the gathering in Montreal of an organization dubbed, ironically enough in the circumstances *Partners for Sovereignty*. The two prominent leaders of the forces of Quebec separatism sat side by side, even managing to summon a tight smile for the benefit of the cameras. But not once did they look each other in the eye. And little wonder. For the Quebec premier and the Bloc Québécois leader are not exactly on speaking terms at the moment. They are, in fact, locked in a bitter private but now very public feud that threatens to tear apart the movement they both pretend to command. "There's peace all over the place," says former Bloc MP Jean Lapierre, now a prominent Montreal broadcaster. "The separatists are now led by a two-headed monster. Who knows where it's going to take them?"

It may well lead in a direction that few in the movement now dare contemplate. Few Quebecers, either separatist or federalist, foresee approaching closer to the secessionist cause as a result of the open dispute between Parizeau and Bouchard. Indeed, many in the separatist camp, in public at least, welcomed the unfolding debate as a sign of the movement's robust health. "Having two leaders instead of one does not bother me at all if it can help our cause," or so said Deputy Premier Bernard Landry. But others predict much more dire results—namely the death of the sovereignty movement, at least in the form that Canadians have known



Parizeau last week after Bouchard's attack on his strategy, "he feels that he has been publicly humiliated."

IS SEPARATISM DEAD?

it for the past generation. "It is just another proof that the separatist movement is over," declared Quebec City constitutional lawyer Guy Bertrand, who mounted a losing bid in 1985 for the PQ leadership as a hardline secessionist candidate. Though still a PQ member, he no longer believes in the party's goal of independence. "We have to admit that our people simply do not want to split the country," says Bertrand. "We've failed. The dream is over. For Quebecers, Canada is our country."

That, to be sure, is still very much a minority opinion among nationalists. Bertrand, in fact, has been envied by the separatists ever since he shook the movement's establishment in January by publicly announcing his change of heart. He was roundly booed by separatist collectors in February when he appeared before one of Parizeau's riv-

ing sovereignty commissions to urge against the PQ program for independence, describing the entire referendum process as not only illegal but doomed to failure as well. Even federalist voices have tried to dismiss his views concerning the imminent demise of the independence cause. "The sovereignty may be in the process of sinking themselves apart right now, but it is absurd to jump to the conclusion that Quebec separatism is dead as a result," says Montreal economist Renée Velez-Lévesque, an unsuccessful Liberal candidate in the last federal election, whose appointment as Canada's new ambassador to the Paris-based Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development will soon be officially announced.

Still, few deny the demoralization that has overtaken the separatist movement. Its drive for independence is clearly stalled. The most recent public opinion poll, published in *Le Presse* on April 7, suggested that 58 per cent of Quebec's electorate would vote against secession,

compared with 43 per cent in favor. These results are roughly in line with dozens of previous surveys—and almost exactly reflect the outcome of the failed 1980 referendum on sovereignty, showing that Quebecers have scarcely changed their basic views despite 15 years of separatist campaigning. Even the massive multibillion-dollar vote-jugg that Parizeau's PQ government has swung about from the moment it was elected last September has failed to budge the province's voters. Those bleak reflections for separatist prospects lie at the centre of the simmering feud between Parizeau and Bouchard that flared into public view during the Bloc Québécois's annual convention in Montreal from April 7 to 9. "The polls are the key," observes Lapierre. "It is an argument that has everything to do with winning and nothing to do with principles."

Bouchard provoked the dispute with a dramatic and closely veiled attempt to hijack the separatist agenda for his own purposes. Adding insult to injury, he carried out the task in a brazen, almost brutal, manner that recalled his earlier break with another ex-servant ally, former prime minister Brian Mulroney. For three days in a row, the Bloc leader repeatedly challenged Parizeau's command of the sovereignty movement and called into question

the premier's strategy for leading the province to independence. In the end, he went so far as to drop a broad hint that he might not even take part in a losing referendum effort. "One thing I do not want," he declared, "is to be involved in a referendum campaign that will in no uncertain terms lead to a defeat." When Bouchard was asked whether he was signalling his intention to bow out of the referendum battle completely if conditions were not to his liking, he replied cautiously "I did not say that. At least, I did not say it yet."

Bouchard's assault began with his opening speech to the Bloc convention, at which he called for a stronger, or sharper, in the division of the drive for independence. In order to broaden the appeal to an obviously wary electorate, he called for an economic union between Quebec and Canada similar to that spelled out by the 1986 Maastricht treaty governing relations between the member states of the European Union. While Bouchard took pains to portray the recommendation as a

Bouchard at convention of Bloc Québécois, a once-private feud between separatist leaders that suddenly became very public

radical departure, there was little in the demand that has not already been spelled out in detail in the PQ's own program. But Bocharov noted the proposals on steps for the advancement of cultural links between Quebec and Canada, something that Parson has long and adamantly resisted.

Details aside, it was the nature of Bocharov's attack, as much as the content, that infuriated Parson. "He feels that he has been publicly humiliated and that's close to the primary issues," while the Bloc leader disappeared on vacation immediately after the PQ convention, Parson said himself under pressure on several fronts. The separatist ranks were divided between academic lions, who welcomed Bocharov's intervention, and hardliners—the so-called purrs of the sovereignty. The division reached into Parson's own cabinet. Surprisingly, among the first to endorse Bocharov's proposals was the premier's own second-in-command. "Bocharov has given us a blessed helping hand," and Landry, describing the Bloc leader as an "infectious and charismatic" figure prepared to put "all his faculties point after its service in a different way." Parson's hard-line allies insisted that even otherwise. Veterans Program Canada (Laurin) contained the words for telling us what he described as Bocharov's clever "trick" of selling a "change in direction that was no change in direction."

Parson was adamant to protect a measure of support, albeit backhanded, from an unlikely source—federal Conservative Leader Jean Charest,



who remarked that "we lived with this kind of thing when [Bocharov] was a councillor at our own government." The comparison was perhaps apt, given Bocharov's behavior of a his old pal and patron Brian Mulroney in 1990 when he stomped out of the Conservative party over the imminent fall of the Meech Lake constitutional accord. Many observers, in fact, had supposed that Bocharov was not likely to set publicly against Parson precisely because his betrayal of the former. They came instead still laud his reputation. But Bocharov clearly felt moved to do so. There are several explanations why. The generous view is that Bocharov sincerely believes that a No vote in a national referendum would severely damage Quebec, reducing the province to its lagging pace with the rest of Canada. But it may also be true that Bocharov's recent brush with the courts in holding corrupting revenues, the so-called flesh-eating disease that cost him his left leg, has made him determined that ever to achieve his objectives. He wants to get on with his life," says Lapierre, "and that has made him a lot more open to what he has heard to be."

Whatever the justifications, the always internal Bloc leader certainly wanted to lead the waters in Quebec. By the end of last week, Parson was beginning to feel the pressure that Bocharov provoked. While policy holding him to his promise to stage a referendum that fall, he nevertheless admitted in the national assembly that some form of political union might be included in the question that is



Levesque on referendum night in 1980; separatist rally this same weekend (left) support for sovereignty is stalled where it was 15 years ago

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Montréal's correspondents Lee Worsick and Mark Carducci quote a wide range of Quebecers last week about the rift between Lucien Bocharov and Jacques Parson—and what it means for the future of their province. *Excerpt*

François Bédoin, 24, is a student at the Université de Montréal and president of the Fédération Étudiante Universitaire du Québec, a province-wide student group.

I think Bocharov did the right thing. I admire the kind of leader who's capable of saying, "I'm breaking it that direction. You can follow me or not, but that's where I'm going." I think it's important that economic union is essential. Even if there isn't a formal agreement, there will be an economic union because it exists now. There's not a businessman who's going to accept the loss of an important market. And Quebec is a very important market.

Danielle-Monique Gosselin, 48, is president of the 50,000-member Quebec Civil Servants Union, and a member of the National Coalition on Sovereignty and the Future of Quebec.

I admit that I was surprised by Bocharov's comments because, in fact, when there are proposals or demands, his lines concerning an economic union with Canada. But I wouldn't say that it represented a break with Parson. It only stands to reason that we would need to look at our future association with our biggest neighbor. Bocharov has only provoked a discussion aimed at finding the best option. Whatever one or the other leader or their party members might say or think, the bottom line is that we unanimously agree on the need for negotiation.



Worsick: "irreparable damage"

Bédoin: "important conflict"

I honestly believe that the more, to-wait-for gifts that Quebec and Canada could give each other would be to allow each other to become two independent countries. Canadians are entitled with strong, central government and a multicultural population. Quebecers want a more open and accessible society, but one that reflects and protects French culture. Is the separatist movement dead? God, no!

Peter Worsick, 35, is news editor and columnist with the Montréal entertainment weekly *Now*. He voted for sovereignty in the 1980 referendum, but intends to vote No this time.

Bocharov and Parson represent all different versions of what the referendum is. Bocharov says yes, but only if he can win it. But Quebecers are going to remember that it was the Bloc that took them to the brink of a referendum, but when they saw the dark abyss, they pulled back. It does irreparable damage to the credibility of sovereignty.

I think there is an element of extreme nationalism in the referendum

debate. If they lose, they're going to paint it apocalyptic. But there are a lot of other groups, not just nationalists and separatists. Because their language is neither English nor French, they don't support sovereignty. Support for a Yes is much lower among women, for example, so they start pointing fingers at women? Ultimately, in a democracy, you have to accept the will of the majority whether they're black or white, male or female, anglophone or francophone.

Iris Laflamme, 36, is a Mizzac, and executive director of the Native Friendship Centre of Montréal, an agency serving the urban aboriginal population.

What Bocharov and Parson did really helped the No side. They've shown a split and I have the one strongest community reason that if the two can't even clear leadership now, that's an early sign of what we're going to be living with after the referendum. Who is going to be the leader? I see younger Quebecers coming up whose ideas are not as unified. They understand that Quebec has to live with the anglophone and allophone communities. I just wish they'd give a bit more consideration to the aboriginals.

Yves Plante, 60, is a Quebec City native and the owner of a distribution agency that operates throughout Quebec and Atlantic Canada.

Bocharov's comments sealed the death knell for the separatist movement. He absolutely scared



Lucienne: "beyond the No side"



Gosselin: "I was surprised"

eventually posed if the sovereignty commissions that can issued opinion across the province in February and March make such a recommendation in their forthcoming report. That report was expected to be released this week. "We will examine," said Parson, "and we will decide with clarity and without hesitating around the fork."

The report may give Parson a convenient excuse to change tactics without acknowledging that he is submitting to Bocharov's demands. At the same time, however, the PQ government has dropped an opportunity. They may well be grasping at straws, but several of Parson's comments indicated last week that they see the prospect of reaping gains if the rest of Canada makes it plain that no political association is possible once Quebec separates. A negative reaction from English-speaking Canada to such a proposal, they hope, could well ignite the nationalist passions that have so far eluded the separatists.

Despite such expectations, the strains that Bocharov exposed in separatist ranks are not likely to be easily contained. The entire thrust of the Bloc leader's actions were geared to making the separatist option more palatable to an electorate that shows precious few signs of embracing the referendum. Without a dramatic change in the prevailing climate, it may well prove to be an impossible task. Former separatist hardliner Bernard, for one, thought so. "The only way you'll see separatism revived is if there is some kind of cultural or linguistic aggression against Quebec," he argued last week.

In a long and reflective interview with *Montréal's*, Bernard expressed his own experience as an instructive example of what may well be in the future. "The more

the separatists and they won't be getting back. Saying a referendum shouldn't be held until victory is assured, that keeps the ball out of me, it does a lot of people. But the Bloc and the PQ were elected with the declared goal of holding a referendum. So let's get on with it. People don't want to have the issue hanging over their heads for the life of the PQ government. That won't be good for anybody, particularly those who most need the most the jobs and the aid and the such.

Nicole Rodrigue, 45, is a spokeswoman of Partners for Sovereignty, a coalition of unions and sovereigntist groups, and a former president of the nationalist St-Jean Baptiste Society.

It is legitimate for Bocharov to deal with things in his way, but I don't think we can talk about democratically opposed movements. There is one thing we're still hearing: sovereignty first. If we had had sovereignty first and the other had said sovereignty later, we would have been right apart. But that was not the case. Everyone is keeping the focus on sovereignty.

Anne Muzzo, 42, is an adviser to Quebec's department of immigration and cultural affairs. A native of Toronto, she was the Bloc Québécois candidate in the Westminster-St. Henri by-election in February.

Parson is right in trying to get an answer from a not as fervent but one in which Bocharov was saying [Bocharov] has not gone back to the René Lévesque position, where we're proposing to negotiate something. It's clearly still a position where we must have a sovereignty Quebec in order to negotiate. He did put the record on the future table, but it's possible between a sovereignty Quebec and Canada, more so than had been in the past. It is not a power game. It is not a major risk. It's more a change of record.



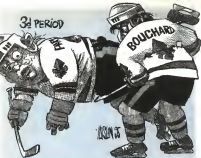
ment has come a long way since 1968," he recalled. "I myself went from being a separatist to a hard-line separatist. And I was a hard-

liner right up until last year when I took stock of where the movement has led us." L'Amour, Quebec's economic commissioner over the past 30 years, he told the blarney for what has happened squarely on the separatist's flanks on the pursuit of independence. "The truth of the matter," he said, "is that we've destroyed our own society and we are now destroying Canada. We have certainly killed and got Canada done in the past 30 years. We have attacked the people we want to Ottawa and destroyed their institutions. We have boycotted and smashed Canadian symbols. Now, 30 years later it's our duty to admit that Canada best not be done back."

Bertrand regards the present push for separation as "irrational," a waste of precious time and money on a doomed issue. "I personally don't want to spend my whole life trying to separate," he noted. "I now want to reconcile and learn to live and work together. In French and English, to help bring industry and jobs back to Quebec. Every day we were talking about separation is another day lost from our future."

His is an adamantly radical view, particularly coming from someone who still identifies himself as a member of the Parti Quebecois. If there are others in the party who share it, they are certainly refusing to do so to broadcast it. Yet there are signs that Bertrand may not be a lonely voice in the wilderness. He claims that he has been receiving daily "calls, letters and faxes" all night long. "Quebecers have had it with politicians," he agrees. "They never tell them the truth, particularly about how much things are going to cost. They know the worst thing is true of sovereignty and separation."

L'Amour agrees, primarily as a result of the evidence he is receiving from the speaking portion of his popular daily radio show, *Les Lapins*. "The overall gist of the message I'm getting is, 'If these guys can't get their act together well enough to run a province, why should we trust them with a country?'" Underlying these attitudes are a host of generalized, demographic and economic factors that point toward deeper, long-term problems for the separatist movement. L'Amour is fond of portraying swelling support for the cause as responses to inevitable, almost a force of nature. "From episode to episode, separatist rallies have climbed from 30 members 10 years ago to three million today," he said last week. "It may take a



few more episodes to reach the additional numbers we need for victory." That is not necessarily the case, however. In fact, support for the independence dream may well have peaked right where it is at the moment—and where it was in René Lévesque's 1980 referendum—at about 61 per cent of voters.

Certainly, the separatist continues to run into a solid wall of resistance in all of their efforts to garner support among the steadily expanding outsiders in the nonfrancophone population. But more alarming for separatists is the apparent indifference of Quebec's youth, in particular francophone young adults. Most research indicates that support for the independence cause remains strong among French-speakers in the 35- to 45-year-old age group but is falling among those who are younger.

"For some factors carry much more weight with the kids today," says Liberal *Argente* *Journal*, a research analyst with Montreal-based *Insidap*. "For a lot of these young people, separation is a cause that excited their parents, or their grandparents. They're much more worried about jobs, about carving out a place for themselves in an increasingly competitive environment."

Despite such signs, however, Quebec separatism is clearly not yet a spent force. "It is, in essence," wrote *Maclean's* economist and political consultant Martin Côté, author of

the recently published study "If Québec Goes..." "I think the movement is likely to be around for some time to come, as long as there is a relatively homogeneous majority of francophones in Québec." In Côté's opinion, separatists will remain a significant force as 60 like overwhelming majority of French-speaking Quebecers are made to feel at home and secure in Canada.

Precisely how that can be accomplished is problematic. Economist Valadakis, who also recently published a book outlining the costs of Quebec secession, argues that separatism is a "systemic phenomenon, part of the nature of a condition rather than a crisis." And like any natural condition, it tends to wax and wane. External factors play a role. If the recent past is any indication, separatist surges in reaction to events outside Quebec, as occurred in the aftermath of the Meech Lake debacle, and plunges when francophone Quebec finds something attractive in being a part of Canada.

There lies both the root of the problem, as well as a possible cure. "The real danger is that Canada can be converted for lack of interest," says Valadakis, pointing to what he describes as the absence of any clear vision in English-speaking Canada about what it means to be Canadian. "It's a head-on kind of place right now, encompassing so many francophones," he continues. "What they require is a positive image of Canada." Even if Quebecers vote No in this year's proposed referendum, that is likely to result in nothing more than driving the separatist "condition" into a state of all-out temporary recession, ready to flare up once again when circumstances change. And anyone who harbors doubts about that potential prospect need only glance at Canada's history for the answer.

WITH MARK CARROLL in Quebec City

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A TALK OF WORMS

BY ANTHONY WILSON SMITH

Divisions between supposed allies anger over a federal politician telling the Quebec government what to do, damaged predictions of post-referendum chaos in a country as constitutionally challenged as Canada, those elements seem as much a part of everyday life as bickering between regions, bickering about the United States and bickering Toronto. But sometimes—as in the past two weeks—the more things appear to stay the same, the more they actually change. Witness the fact that a few sovereigntists, not federalists, who are leading, and that the federal politician in question is Bloc Québécois leader and avowed sovereigntist Lucien Bouchard. And it is sovereigns' turn to issue gloom-and-doom predictions about the likelihood of a No referendum vote, and the seemingly inevitable disasters that would surely follow.

It should all be enough to make concerned federalists outside Quebec wince with concerned laughter—or, at least, as explains English-Canadian fashion, to pass their hands discreetly in front of their faces to hide a quick smile. But that would require that some Canadians develop a sense of humor about the country's implacably political squabbling—and laughter is a commodity in short supply on both sides of the debate. Instead, last week, the apparent dissension in the sovereigntist camp gave federal politicians in Ottawa new worries, provoked a debate about whether to rethink their pre-referendum anti-seg, said evoked inevitable warnings against complacency.

Until now, the federal Liberal strategy towards Quebec has essentially amounted to saying little, and provoking even less. For the most part, that has worked reasonably well, for all the talk about how Prime Minister Jean Chrétien is reeling and Bouchard is reeling within their home province, the most recent poll conducted by Gallup Canada Inc. showed that the Liberals lead the Bloc by a margin of 32 per cent of respondents to 42 per cent. That contrast has existed to their counterparts among the provincial Liberals, who have been largely absent from sight since their defeat in last September's election. The provincial and federal Liberals were widely criticised when they first said they would boycott province-wide hearings on sovereignty. But as a result of that move, the commission hearings were derailed of the usual partisan bickering between federalists and sovereigntists, and turned only to highlight the doubts and vagueness of

Liberal strategists fear that the separatist infighting could ultimately hurt the federalist cause in Quebec



Rebellious Chrétien as a old helping last week near Vernon, B.C. (left); concern that Bouchard could be launching a pre-referendum strike to replace Patenaud

many uneasy, politically embittered Quebecers towards the coming referendum.

But somewhat surprisingly, advisers to Chrétien, instead of being plagued by the split between Bouchard and Premier Jacques Parizeau, now find new causes for concern. With polls showing support for sovereignty stalled at a maximum of 45 per cent, federalists want a referendum as soon as possible—and they want Patenaud to stick to his promise to hold one in 1995. A delay, they suspect, affects the entire country by prolonging uncertainty, which in turn, depresses the value of the dollar on international markets. Another anticipated result is that the short-term gains for the federalist side caused by sovereigntist infighting could be followed by long-term pain for the rest of the country. There is, for example, the question of whether Bouchard is launching a pre-referendum strike to replace Patenaud as head of the Parti Québécois, not so great. "With Parizeau in charge, everything is so divided—and we are the poll results in our face," said one Chrétien adviser. "So we have some reservations about anything that changes the mix too much."

In fact, polls repeatedly show that Bouchard is not only Quebec's most popular politician, but also is even within the province as the person best able to deliver Quebec's interests. If Bouchard were to replace him as premier, his own status might well be enough to increase the PQ's popularity—and, in the process, bump up support for sovereignty. More to the point, Bouchard's emphasis on maintaining links with the rest of Canada would be reversing the "anti-nationalist" within Quebec—the 15 per cent or so of Quebecers who are personally undecided on which way to vote.

Periodically, another important factor is one that sees Chrétien and his advisers in agreement with hardliners within the sovereignty movement. That is the notion that despite the obvious differences in style between Bouchard and Parizeau, there is not a great deal of difference in the substance of what each proposes. Both stress the need for Quebec to become an independent state; both say that political and economic links with the rest of Canada would only be discussed after that. Both men also insist that the rest of Canada would be forced to negotiate its ties with an independent Quebec out of self-interest.

But Bouchard's approach, Chrétien advisers say, carries a greater element of risk for both sovereigntists and federalists. By linking the notion of political and economic association to independence, Bouchard diminishes the emotional and practical significance of Quebec becoming a country. "It is hard," says an

other Chrétien adviser. "To argue the urgency of leaving Canada even as you stress the hope of remaining tied to it." On the other hand, the presence of association also appears to lessen the risk of independence.

Still, the real wild card is that Bouchard, whether or not intentionally, has now effectively invited the rest of Canada to join the debate. Even federalists in Quebec usually argue that the province has the right to determine its own future within or outside of Canada—but any link with the rest of Canada would require the approval of other Canadians. Some sovereigntists hope—while federalists worry—that a noisy rejection of association by political leaders outside Quebec before the referendum would cause hurt feelings in the province, and a rise in support for sovereignty.

But that, says an adviser to Chrétien's office, "is a game we will not play." Instead, Chrétien, when he discusses the issue publicly, will remain Quebecers that the foremost issue is a referendum on whether they wish to leave Canada, with no guarantees as to what comes after. Similarly, Labor Minister Lawrence (Bob) Rae's argument as the federal government's point man in referendum planning was accompanied by veiled reminders to other cabinet ministers from Quebec that they should leave public discussion of the issue to him. Among the more notable by his silence is Foreign Affairs Minister Andre Gauthier, long regarded as one of the most francophone senior bureaucrats within the party.

Now, Bouchard and Chrétien's conduct may have mirrored problems in making their arguments to the country. Bouchard must reassure Quebecers that a Yes vote will not have great consequences in their daily lives even as he tells the rest of Canada that it must be prepared to agree to transitional change in the event of a Yes vote. Chrétien, on the other hand, must appear to be sure of the country to keep its collective cool before a referendum vote as he tries to allay fears to Quebecers the dramatic consequences of the decision they will make.

At the same time, both sides must consider the vastly different interpretations that Quebecers and other Canadians attach to the outcome of a referendum vote. Outside Quebec, many Canadians, such as Ontario Premier Bob Rae, argue that a minority majority No vote would encourage a new search and specimens towards Quebec that would lead to eventual new powers for the province. Within Quebec, even some federalists, such as Conservative Senator Jean-Charles Lévesque and former provincial Liberal cabinet minister Claude Forget, say a strong No vote would rob Quebec of the bargaining power it needs for future constitutional negotiations. That, in turn, leads to another argument against complacency among federalists: the worry that if many Quebecers regard a No majority result as a certainty, they might follow such logic and vote Yes in the hope that a close result will increase the chance for renewed negotiations.

For most Canadians, all that sobering analysis to an even more arcane constitutional version of the old philosophical question of how many angels can dance on the head of a pin. The depressing result, however, is that the issue of Quebec's place within or outside of Canada will continue regardless of the referendum result—or even whether one is held. If Quebecers vote Yes, the entire country must decide what to do next. If they vote No, all their efforts to prepare (or, unfortunately, Quebec will continue to be the only province in Canada that has not accepted the existing Constitution. And Quebecers will continue to expect the right to be brought into the Constitution alongside other Canadians "with honor and enthusiasm," as Bouchard wrote in a speech he prepared for Ben Mulroney on a historic day, Sept. 4, 1984. Or eventually, like Bouchard, they will renounce their enthusiasm, and their desire for that right. □



CANADA

Young and dangerous

By the time they gathered for her funeral last week, Alicia Lema's family had made their peace with her tragic death. On April 7, the 35-year-old mother of 10, and grandmother of 16, was driving to her home in northwest Edmonton after picking up groceries, when a taxi cab lurched forward as the driver hit her. The driver of the cab, Trevor O'Neil, 62, had just been shot in the head, dying almost instantly. The cab then veered through a stop sign and smashed into Lema's brown Toyota Camille, tearing off the passenger side of the car and decapitating Lema. Seconds before the crash, witnesses saw two police, at least one armed with a handgun, fall out of the cab and run away. On April 10, police charged two 15-year-old boys with the murders of both O'Neil and Lema. But despite the horrific circumstances of her death, members of Lema's deeply religious family say they have accepted her fate and forgive their responsible. "It happened and we're dealing with our loss," said Lema's eldest son, Tony.

Others were not as forgiving. Counting less than a week after these Montreal teenagers were charged with beating a 35-year-old retired Anglican minister and his 75-year-old wife to death with baseball bats, the charges against the two Edmonton teens seemed to

ignite an emotionally charged debate over the federal Young Offenders Act. Critics contend that the act—which, among other things, prohibits disclosing the identity of offenders under the age of 18—is far too lenient. They also say that amendments to the legislation, passed by the House of Commons on Feb. 28 and now before the Senate, do not do enough to deter young criminals.

Earlier sponsors over nature youth crime prompted Justice Minister Allan Rock to introduce amendments to the Young Offenders Act last June. Once proclaimed, these changes will set the minimum sentence for first-degree murder by young people doubled to 10 years. They will also allow for the automatic transfer of violent offenders aged 16 and 17 to adult courts—and later, adult prisons—unless it is clear that they can be rehabilitated in the youth system. Currently, the Crown must apply to

transfer more serious charges to adult court. Rock's amendments had to inspire the Reform party, which advocates taking an even tougher line on young offenders. Among other things, Reformers favor extending the Young Offenders Act to cover 16- and 17-year-olds (at present, children under 12 cannot be charged with a crime), allowing for public disclosure of young offenders charged with serious crimes, and holding parents responsible for compensating victims if a court determines that parental neglect contributed to the crime. Reform justice critic Jack Ramsey, says that these amendments brandish the need for stiffer deterrence. "Our young offenders are now laughing at the law," says Ramsey. "There's no respect for the law, there's no fear of the consequences of one's criminal behavior."

While it is true that violent crimes committed by young people have risen dramatically in recent years, that is not the case for murder. According to the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics in Ottawa, the number of those aged 12 to 17 charged with violent crimes rose from 9,273 in 1986 to 22,471 in 1993—an increase of 131 per cent. But for the vast majority of offences—homicide—the numbers have remained relatively stable. In 1993, 35 young offenders were accused of murder, down slightly from the 42 who stood accused in 1988. David Boyd, a criminologist at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C., cautions against current claims, high profile killings to justify getting more kids in jail for longer periods of time. Instead, he says, society must recognize that most violent offences come from violent backgrounds and attack people they know. "We see that it's the spectacular case of randomly selected public violence that gets our attention, and rightly so," says Boyd. "But we have to remember that we ought not to make policy on the basis of these cases."

Such arguments, of course, are often difficult to avoid when the risks of greed and anger that follow the commission of a violent crime. Three days after the fatal crash in Edmonton, city officials erected a white wooden cross at the site where one of their own fell victim to what doctors said was a botched robbery attempt. Mourners placed flowers and cards of sympathy at the base of the cross as a bane of both Lema, who was well-known for her volunteer work with local Roman Catholic youth, and O'Neil, a retired police officer who was accused and had no relatives in the city, but whom colleagues described as fatherly and kind. At week's end, the flowers remained amidst the incense of headlights, banners and chorine that served as stark reminders of how two lives had been so harshly stolen.

BRAND HINGMAN was **LENN CHURCH** in **Edmonton**

Reeling in a deal

An agreement in Brussels ends the fish war

Even for a fish tale, the story had started to strain the bounds of credibility. Victory in at hand, federal Fisheries Minister Brian Tobin reported late a country last week. Yet as the Easter weekend and Poverover approached, the uneasy truce in the great lobster battle between Canada and Spain just seemed to drag on. After the Spaniards failed to agree to a six-month deadline set by Tobin for a truce deal between Canada and the 15-member European Union (EU), the normally fiery fisheries secretary responded in a conciliatory fashion. Canada, he said, did not want to do anything to jeopardize ongoing negotiations in Brussels when a settlement seemed so near. But by Good Friday, Tobin's patience had clearly run out. Declaring that the Spaniards' resistance had jeopardized Canada's "generous and final offer" on lobster quotas, Tobin notified that Canadian patrol boats could soon move north against EU Spanish boats still fishing on the so-called new and old of the Grand Banks. Whether it was Tobin's tough talk—or more Canadian concessions at the negotiating table—

Accused by EU officials of engaging in "piracy," Tobin requested that Canada use any attempt to protect endangered lobster stocks in waters just outside its 200-mile territorial limit. As the bargaining table, the thorniest issue proved to be the allocation of lobster quotas between Canada and the European nations. According to Tobin, EU officials had initially accepted Canada's latest offer, only to return Friday with new demands. "The Canadian government is profoundly disappointed," Tobin said. "When we



With cheered by schoolchildren: Canada's stand has been widely hailed

Brussels, the Spaniards finally came around. On Saturday night, a rebelled Tobin had second sense conference in less than 24 hours to announce that Canada and the European Union had reached an agreement. "We're developing a first step in building an open market and would the world an effective management regime."

Under the terms of the deal—announced by EU ambassadors on Sunday—Canada will give up some of its quota for lobster to Spain, Tobin said. It will also grant "single" lobster stocks off the coast of Newfoundland. "Our objective was not to get a bigger deal at the [EU]," he said reporters in Ottawa. "Our objective was to make sure there was a pie in the future." The deal ends a month of tense negotiations that followed the dramatic events of March 6 when Canadian fisheries patrol boats fired warning shots across the bow of the Spanish trawler *Batia* and arrested the ship and its crew.

While Tobin had the blame for the breakdown of the talks squarely at Spain's door, Spanish Fisheries Minister Luis Alfonso declined to offer. "We're new to the fact that with these talks get to a delicate spot, Tobin makes things more difficult with threats and ultimatums," Alfonso said in a written statement released in Madrid. "It has to be made clear that from Spain's point of view and that of the European Union, the talks haven't broken down, they have just resumed."

The stalemate threatened to scuttle the kind of deal that Canadian fishermen said was essential if the Atlantic fishery is to survive. For years, those same fishermen have been deeply critical of the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization (NAFO), the multinational body that regulates fishing in the region, claiming that the agency lacked the clout to enforce its rules and punish vio-

lators. Central to the deal that had been talking shape were the sort of tough new surveillance and enforcement measures—including on-board inspection of trawlers and satellite monitoring of foreign fishing fleets—that Canada had been seeking from the start. "This represents significant progress," said McCurdy, head of the Fisheries, Food and Allied Workers union, which represents most of Newfoundland's lobster fishermen, told *Maclean's* shortly before the talks broke down. "From the beginning, this was about more than lobster."

In Brussels, European diplomats said negotiations languished over relatively small differences in how to share the total catch of 27,000 tonnes of lobster that NAFO set for 1993. When the two sides finally reached a deal, they agreed that Canada will take 10,000 of those tonnes, down from the 35,000 originally allocated. The EU will get 10,000 tonnes of lobster, while the remaining 7,000 tonnes will go to other countries, including Russia and Japan. Throughout the talks, Canada was widely hailed as a hero for taking bold action against the Iberians. Last week, hundreds of British fishermen came to the Atlantic to fly the Maple Leaf in protest against the Spaniards' resistance to their own waters. Royce Ellis, Canada's high commissioner to Britain, was surrounded by happy schoolchildren waving Canadian flags when he visited the British town of Newlyn. Meanwhile, Ireland seized two Spanish-owned trawlers off its coast for suspicion of illegal fishing.

Since April 4, and South Africa detained 10 Spanish fishermen for allegedly using an illegal net in its waters. In Canada, the fish were touched off a wave of nationwide protests—and, in New Brunswick, it triggered sightings among Watchdog-British fishermen of a new fishing trawler off their coast was simply too much for Newfoundland fishermen to accept after being forced to pull out their own nets because of cheating catches. "This has no one," a frustrated Newfoundland Premier Clive Wells declared in the heat of last week's battle. European fishermen said they planned to compel the Spaniards to fish in accordance with NAFO rules, then Canada is totally justified in taking whatever action is necessary." In the end, Canada out a deal—and hoped that it would last.

JACOB DEMCOTT in **Atlantic** with **R. ROSS** **REUTERS** in **Ottawa** and **comprehensive** reports

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VICTORY FOR THE DISABLED

Officials at the University of Alberta Hospital in Edmonton announced that Terry Urquhart, a 37-year-old with Down's syndrome who had been denied a lung transplant because of his condition, would now qualify for the procedure. Urquhart, whose lungs are damaged as the result of a congenital heart defect, must go through six weeks of observation and further testing before he is placed on a waiting list for a transplant. The Council of Canadians with Disabilities hailed the announcement as a major victory.

CONFLICTING RULINGS

The Quebec College of Physicians found Montreal plastic surgeon Marc Bossette guilty of sexually assaulting a female patient during a breast-implant operation in 1993. The doctor now faces possible penalties ranging from a small fine to suspension of his licence. The college's finding runs counter to an April 7 ruling by Quebec Court Judge Pierre Boudreux, who acquitted Bossette of sexual assault. The plastic surgeon admitted he had sex with the patient in his clinic, but said that the act was consensual and took place before he assaulted her. The prosecution is considering an appeal of Boudreux's ruling.

TOO MANY CHIEFS?

The Federal Court of Appeal ruled in Ottawa that an Indian chief does not have to be an Indian. Under the Indian Act, the court determined, tribes can elect anyone they wish to hold their band council. Several native leaders condemned the decision, saying it undermines the spirit of native self-government and may allow outsiders to control their affairs.

HIV SENTENCE

A violent criminal who knowingly exposed his sex partners to the virus that is believed to cause AIDS was sentenced in a Toronto, B.C., courtroom to seven years in prison. Douglas February, 31, pleaded guilty to aggravated assault and criminal negligence for having unprotected sex with three women even though he knew he was HIV-positive. One woman, a mother of two, has since tested positive for the virus.

AN AGING POPULATION

Statistics Canada reported that Quebec now has the country's oldest population, beating out British Columbia, which had held the distinction since 1946. The survey also showed that those over 65 make up 12 per cent of Canada's population, compared with 8.5 per cent in 1976.

Canada NOTES

Military manoeuvres

The chief of defence staff, Gen. John de Chastelain, announced that the disbanded Canadian Airborne Regiment will be replaced by three separate parachute companies. The 150-member companies will be stationed in Edmonton, Peterborough, Ont., and Vancouver, B.C. Most of their recruits will come from the ranks of the former Airborne regiment, which was formally disbanded on March 4.

Each company, de Chastelain said, will serve as the nucleus for a new light infantry battalion of 600 to 700 soldiers. After the restructuring, Canada will have nine infantry battalions instead of the present six. The new units will increase military capability, especially for peacekeeping.

The decision will remain de-

pending to the structure in place in the 1990s, when each of the country's three regular regiments maintained an airborne company. In 1964, they were merged into the Canadian Airborne Regiment. But after the broadcast of videotapes earlier this year showing Airborne soldiers engaged in brutal and degrading hazing rituals, Defence Minister David Colquhoun ordered the regiment disbanded.

The new Airborne companies will maintain a parachute capability, but, unlike the old Airborne, will not include engineers or communications and artillery support units. While many military analysts welcomed the move, critics said it will be costly and inefficient to scatter the troops across the country.



De Chastelain restructuring the army

Standing firm

Prime Minister Jean Chretien told 3,200 delegates at a two-day summit in Calgary that the principles of universal public health care are not up for negotiation with the provinces. "Here in Canada, when we're sick we're going to a hospital, not because we have money, but because we are powerful, but because we are sick," he said. He reiterated the point during a later television interview in Edmonton and made it clear that he disagrees with Alberta Premier Ralph Klein's support for health-care user fees and allowing private facilities to offer essential services to those who refuse to pay for them. Such actions, said Chretien, would contravene the Canada Health Act by creating a two-tiered system of health care.

His comments came after provincial health ministers met in Vancouver and demanded that Ottawa convene a national conference on reducing health-care costs in light of recent federal cuts in transfer payments. Ottawa plans to slash provincial transfer payments for health, education and social services by \$7 billion over three years, beginning in 1994.

The provincial reactions called on the federal government to act within its own jurisdiction to reduce health-care costs. Chretien said in

Calgary, meanwhile, that Canada should reduce spending on health care to nine per cent of the country's economic output, from its current level of 10 per cent. He did not elaborate on how that goal should be reached, but the Liberals have said previously that it could be achieved through a combination of cuts in health-care costs and growth in the economy.

Major reprimand

A court verdict in Calgary ruled that Maj. Ross Wicksow, 36, was negligent when he let Canadian peacekeepers drink last year at a Serbian wedding in the former Yugoslavia. The seven-member panel said Wicksow failed to enforce military regulations on alcohol, particularly those that prohibit drinking as duty. Wicksow was given a severe reprimand for his actions and had his authority cut by one year.

Testimony revealed that Wicksow, a 15-year Canadian Forces veteran, was invited to a Serbian wedding last July in Banja. He was asked to bring a security patrol when the celebration was being held about a kilometre from Marinko line. Wicksow testified that he asked two military vehicles and an armoured car to the wedding. Members of the patrol say they began drinking here. But Wicksow testified he later invited the men to join the festivities.

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Dance with wife
Elizabeth, showing
on the right

White House hopes Republicans vie for the 1996 nomination

The Republican victors in the 1994 U.S. congressional elections cried out then that they had made Democratic President Bill Clinton a lame duck. Now, with campaigns already in flight for the 1996 presidential race, the conservative party pivots Clinton as a dead duck. Last week, the Republican Club seeking the right to try to finish off Clinton appealed to seven well-known conservatives by Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole and Congressman Dick Armey, a far-right outlier who represents Oklahoma's Deweyland district. At least two dozen more are preparing bids for the Republican nomination—Indiana Senator Dick Lugar and California Gov. Pete Wilson. Almost all of Clinton's would-be challengers distrust the deep blue colors of radical conservatism. Clinton, although edging rightward in response, still stands lonely in their bed of conservatism, the arena that he will win if we are tough enough and wise enough and apologetic enough to put the interests of ordinary Americans first and not to really focus on the future.

Not to mention Justice Taggart estimates that a serious run at the Republican nomination takes at least \$20 million. Early exploration of the hard running prospects, along with the crowded field, helped persuade several prospective Republican nominees to

Clinton captured both houses of Congress on Nov. 8 for the first time since 1932, the record he holds for being too liberal. In any case, his public image frayed during Genghis's extraordinary 40th News/Weekend Post poll last month showed Clinton with a 55-percent approval rating, up from a low of 41 percent—until it took to get him elected in 1992.

On the issues after Congress opened on April 7, Clinton collected about \$1 billion for the Democrats at a \$10,000-a-couple Hollywood event (given by film director Steven Spielberg, Jan. 15's *Blackadder* awarded that Clinton was celebrating Pats' birthday, "in honor of the unforgotten dead"). Clinton's re-election campaign would be helped if Texas millionaire Ross Perot secured to super savings from his United Red America campaign to run again for the presidency in 1992. Perot split the conservative vote in Clinton's advantage against George Bush by slanting 13 per cent of the national poll in 1994. Perot advised his followers to vote Republican. Last week, Genghis sent them to do likewise in 1996, stating that "the only person helped by a third party is President Clinton and the liberal Democrats."

Another untouchable factor, even as to which party he favors, is former military chief Colin Powell, an engineer who has speculated in speeches on the hypothetical chances of an independent, third-party candidate.

For now, the Republican resistance has drawn a crowd to the party's round of state nominating polls that open next February and, under a congressionally scheduled, should produce a nominee by the end of March. Alongside Dole, Graham and Wilson, others shape up as also-rans: Buchanan, Danforth, Lugar, former Tennessee governor Lamar Alexander, Pennsylvania's Senator Arlen Specter, a true moderate, and Alan Keyes, a black Baltimore talk-show host of extreme right-wing views.

A popular choice for a vice-presidential running mate is New Jersey's Gov. Christine Todd Whitman. But would the patriotic governor be seen on the same campaign with any of the male elites?

Whether Clinton's touch, like his wife's, is a magical one can do it against the Republican "tooth, smart and political movement in an open question. Last week, Washington politicians Stenbol, Greenberg and Frank Lutz answered that question with rousing reactions. Greenberg said voters will ask of the incumbent's record: "Are these developments part of an overall approach to society and government which has made life better for ordinary Americans?" Lutz's response: "Who is the leader who has the best grasp of what nations are like as Americans? Who do you trust? Greenberg is a Clinton adviser. Lutz is a Genghis pollster, working for Graham.

Meanwhile, the showing on the right to prove who is the deepest blue, and who is the pink, promises to make for a colorful contest. □

Hard lessons McNamara apologizes for the Vietnam War

Scholar has a book provided the scale of unbridled rage that Robert McNamara unleashed with the public about last week of a confidential memoir on the U.S. war in Vietnam. Initial reactions exposed a human sense of betrayal. Anger focused on the fact that McNamara, who played a central role in the war as U.S. defense secretary from 1961 to 1966, wrote three decades to declare publicly what he said privately at the time: the war was a disaster for the American people and the U.S. image for a long time.

McNamara, the captain who led Ford Motor Co. president who was recruited to federal service as one of the "best and brightest" stars of president John Kennedy's administration, went over his "life and lessons" while aging a recent interview on his own website, *Reconnect*. The tragedy and lesson of Vietnam. So he should have, editorialized *The New York Times*. "His regret cannot be large enough to balance the books of our state soldiers." Declared Atlantic Monthly magazine editor James Fallows, addressing McNamara in a commentary on National Public Radio: "I would have been better to go out directly if you could not find the courage to speak when it would have cost your country any good."

A war hawk who developed doubts about Vietnam policy as defense secretary under presidents Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, McNamara now concedes that Washington should have abandoned its intervention in 1963 or soon afterward. At that time, U.S. involvement was limited to about 50,000 military advisers. Further, he is now convinced that he would have pulled us out of Vietnam. "In the aftermath under Johnson, we were writing terribly wrong."

Part of the wrong was a U.S. failure to recognize that "we do not have the God-given right to shape every nation on our own image as we choose." But what McNamara concludes was terribly wrong had nothing to do with military tactics and political strategy. Lutz is to ask about the morality of waging a Cold War battle based on public lies and private conspiracies. The errors, McNamara writes, were "not of values and intentions, but of judgment and capabilities."

Armored or merely mortally, the war left about two million human casualties—50,000 of them Americans dead—in the eight years from the arrival in South Vietnam of the first U.S. combat units in March, 1965, until the last retreat in U.S. forces in March, 1973 (the war closed with a 1975 Communist victory).

By McNamara, now 76, was right, as a private memorandum he wrote in 1967, about the war's damaging long-term impact on the



McNamara in Vietnam: 'we were terribly wrong'

American people and on the nation's reputation. By then, U.S. forces in South Vietnam numbered about 500,000. There were heavy civilian casualties in the combat between U.S. and South Vietnam forces defending a corrupt government against Communist Vietnamese guerrillas and their offshoots. North Vietnamese after U.S. bombers were then moved through a three-year program that raised greater knowledge of civilians in North Vietnam than had fallen on Germany and Japan together during the war years at the Second World War. Another protests

besieged the U.S. border from. And the war was costing the U.S. treasury about \$70 billion a day. On May 15, 1967, nine months before McNamara left the Pentagon to become president of the World Bank, he expressed his "growing doubts" in a memo to Johnson.

"There may be a limit beyond which many Americans and much of the world will not permit the United States to go," he wrote in his memo. "The price of the world's greatest superpower falling or seriously wounding 1,000 unaccountable to a work, while trying to prevent a tiny backward nation into submission on an issue whose merits are highly disputed, and at a price that it could not possibly produce a clear solution to the American national consciousness and in the world image of the United States—especially if the damage to North Vietnam is completely enough to be successful."

But the war policy prevailed. Little more than a year before the McNamara memo, Johnson had ordered a Canadian to that price limit were possible. As McNamara records it, Johnson confronted: "with much insistence"—a proposal from Prime Minister Lester Pearson, the head of the United Nations, to appeal Johnson by speaking out against the war. (In 1965, after Pearson had criticized U.S. Vietnam policy in a speech in Philadelphia, Johnson pressed the prime minister on a visit to the president with a secretary: "You pressed on my rug.")

McNamara, who retired in 1966, reports "the March, events caused a diplomat and old far Eastern hand Chester A. Banning traveled to Hanoi and brought back a message from North Vietnam: 'The American President from Van Dong that, if the Americans stopped the bombing for good and unconditionally, we will talk.' The Canadian considered Pham's message a 'bait for peace talks,' but Washington dismissed it. Within McNamara, "in retrospect, we were mistaken in not having Banning at least probe the language of Pham's words more deeply."

Against McNamara, the critical line suggests that it is one thing to say you're sorry for taking part in a crime against humanity, including your own, because of terrible mistakes. It is another to apologize but attempt to justify the crime of crime, on the grounds that it served a greater goal. But to later admit that it was known at the time to be monstrous, and that its claimed purpose was to bring about the release of the McNamara and—perhaps because of lies—America have a lot still to live down.

CARL HOLLINGS is in Bologna

Naming names

A campaign to 'out' homosexuals draws fire

Under unusual circumstances, last week's announcement that the Bishop of London was to be elevated to the Church of England's second-highest post, the Archbishop of York, would hardly have raised an eyebrow. But David Hoag's promotion, announced by Prime Minister John Major, was highly significant. It sent a clear message that the government and the Church had chosen to ignore the actions of a militant gay-rights group that is waging a controversial campaign to unseat prominent homosexuals.

Hoag, 58, received news of his promotion less than a month after openly acknowledging that his sexuality was a "privacy." He reacted that statement, he said, in response to a letter from Peter Tatchell, leader of the British gay-rights group Outrage, which urged him to "come out" as a homosexual—and said that the group had "information" about the bishop's sexual practices. Hoag's short of labeling him sexual orientation, the bishop described himself as celibate, and called Tatchell's letter "seriously unfriendly" and "professing dishonesty."

Hoag's announcement was his in media preview and provided a basis of protest against Outrage's tactics. The group searched for compromise in late November. It withdrew out of the door last year after Parliament voted to lower the age of sexual consent for gays to 16 from 21—rather than to 16, the age of consent for heterosexual acts. Condemning the move as discrimination, Tatchell, who has led many protest demonstrations, announced that his five-year-old organization would "resist to other means" to achieve its goal of sexual equality. His group then turned its attention to the Anglican Church. Last November, it publicly threatened 19 Anglican bishops as homosexuals. Attacking the "hypocrisy" of the

Church of England, which teaches that homosexuality is not sinful but that gays should refrain from sex, Outrage claimed that the Church itself already had evidence that the 19 bishops were gay. The attempt to out the bishops apparently caused personal anger for at least two of them: one



Tatchell scuffles with policemen of 1996 demonstration; Hoag (left): open to debate

reportedly contemplated suicide while another left the Church to become a Buddhist monk.

Outrage then targeted Parliament, which has a list of 50 gay MPs—many of whom are members of the House of Commons. The militant group leader said he fears, when he did not issue publicly, were from all three main political parties and included two cabinet members. One of the recipients of these letters, Sir James Killick, 66, of Northern Ireland's Popular Unionist Party, unexpectedly died of a heart attack—and British newspapers were quick to make the connection.

Politicians associated with fierce attacks on Tatchell, himself a killed father candidate in 1993 parliamentary elections. Last month, more than 120 MPs signed a motion condemning homosexual activity. "Peter Tatchell is a threat," said Barbara Caine, the Tory MP who had led the campaign for an equal age of consent for homosexuals. "The entire campaign is cruel, wicked and evil."

Leaders of gay organizations and newspapers have also criticized Outrage. Aspinall Mason, executive director of Stonewall, a more moderate gay-rights group, said that "for many lesbians and gay men the sight of Peter Tatchell posing as the moral policeman of the movement before the very basis of our arguments for civil rights." She added: "The charges that have occurred in the last 35 years have happened because more and more lesbians and gay men are themselves coming out. Outing is most dangerous because it threatens this very process." Michael Coffey, the chairman of Stonewall and a television actor who has appeared on the *EastEnders*, was equally outspoken. "I consider outing a supreme act of sexual cowardice," he said. "In no case has anyone had the waters of silence counselling or support to the person they are outing. Two of my friends were outed. One's life was made unbearable at work, the other one had his car set on fire. Both were driven from their homes and jobs."

But members of Outrage are unrepentant. Said a spokesman for the group, David Allen: "We decided that at very clearly defined cases outing was justified. The issue on which we do it is of the person's honesty at work, the other one had his car set on fire. Both were driven from their homes and jobs."

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Tatchell has not ruled out a general demonstration at Hoag's enthronement in York Cathedral in August. But the bishop chose to avoid confrontation, saying that he would use his new position to encourage preferential treatment about homosexual issues. He said he was not sure that all who are involved are given a proper voice and a proper ear, he said last week. "At the moment time I am just a little concerned that the debate is coming rather more heat than light."

IAN MATTHEW in London

FUJIMORI TRIUMPHS

Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori was a second day in here, easily defeating 13 challengers led by former UN secretary general Javier Pérez de Cuellar. Fujimori, 55, was a university reformer who swept to power in 1995 on a wave of voter disgust with traditional politicians.

MURDER CASE REOPENED

Authorities in Singapore agreed to reopen a double murder case that led to the execution of a Philippine man last month. For Contemplation was convicted of the 1981 killings of another Philippine maid, Dalia Mapa, and a Singaporean boy. A Philippine presidential commission that examined Mapa's remains said it found evidence that she might have been killed by a man and that Contemplation was innocent of the double murder.

JAPAN ON ALERT

In Japan's largest passenger security operation, about 100,000 policemen needed dozens of buildings owned by the Japanese Air Self-Defense Force. One of its top leaders warned that a terrible disaster was about to strike Tokyo. Members of the emergency unit are expected to have carried out a March 25 nerve gas attack on Tokyo's subway system, which killed 11 people and injured 5,500 others.

PAKISTAN DEMANDS PLANES

On a visit to Washington, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto demanded the delivery of 28 F-16 fighters contracted by Pakistan, or the return of more than \$1 billion already paid for the planes. President Bill Clinton agreed to work with Congress to amend a five-year-old measure that bans direct economic aid and sales of military equipment to Pakistan, which has refused to sign its controversial nuclear program.

COUNTING THE DEAD

A Kremlin official estimated that 2,000 Russian soldiers have been killed in a five-month campaign to crush separatist rebels in Chechnya. The Russian human-rights commission has placed the civilian death toll at 25,000.

WINNIE SACKED AGAIN

Wesley Marland was briefly reinstated to her job as South Africa's deputy minister of arts, culture, science and technology, only to be fired for the second time in three weeks. After she challenged her initial firing as illegal, President Nelson Mandela conferred with all political parties in his national unity government, as required by the constitution. Before announcing her dismissal again.

World NOTES



Philippine police in Gaza chase a man that ran a roadblock across arrests

A PLO crackdown in Gaza

Yielding to U.S. and Israeli pressure, PLO leader Yasser Arafat gave his security forces the go-ahead to detain Muslim militants in Palestinian-ruled Gaza and the West Bank zone of Jericho. Palestinian police arrested some 200 Hamas and Islamic Jihad activists last week, after the militant groups claimed responsibility for two suicide bombings near Jewish settlements in Gaza on April 9 that killed seven Israeli soldiers and American tourist Alma Florio, 30, of West Orange, N.J. Blasting a civil war with Muslim militants

Bank—killing 14 million Palestinians from entering Israel—and deployed thousands of Israeli troops at the start of the week-long Passover holiday.

In the hot seat

At the G. J. Simpson double murder trial in Los Angeles, defense lawyers stopped at their attack on Dennis Fung, portraying the still-murdered because expert as a failed player in a vindictive police conspiracy against



Fung denying a conspiracy

Simpson. Defense lawyer Larry Schick asked his five days of brutal cross-examination of Fung with allegations that the expert lied about a rival of Simpson's blood as part of a police cover-up. Schick accused Fung of covering up the fact that he had not received the sample of Simpson's blood until the morning of June 14 last year—two days after the murders—suggesting police had tried to acetate drops at the crime scene. But Fung insisted he received the rival on June 13, the day Simpson gave the blood to detectives at police headquarters, and he denied being part of a conspiracy.

day Simpson gave the blood to detectives at police headquarters, and he denied being part of a conspiracy.



THE AMERICAN EXPRESS

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managers by surprise. The company's chairman and chief executive, Robert Eaton, was only minutes away from giving a speech at a major auto show in New York City, for which he took him aside and briefed him. A widely respected engineer whose team-oriented approach contrasts sharply with Iacocca's more headstrong leadership style, Eaton promptly canceled his address and flew back to Chrysler's Detroit headquarters. After a hastily arranged board meeting, he fired off a statement: did the automaker "is not for sale." Added Eaton: "We don't want to put Chrysler at risk."

Representatives of Chrysler Canada's 14,000 workers also joined the coalition effort. Echoing Iacocca's previous objection to corporate raiding, Canadian Auto Workers president Buzz Hargrove noted that Kerlikow's plan would leave the company to invest huge sums from research and development—

money because "it needs to maintain adequate cash reserves to weather downturns in the business cycle, as well as to maintain its ability to develop new products."

Up to now, a healthy chunk of that cash has been earmarked for Canada. DeSloovers said that Chrysler currently plans to spend more than \$1 billion next year rebuilding one of its Windsor, Ont., assembly plants for a new line of full-sized cars. Another \$300 million will be required over the next two years for improvements at the company's Brampton, Ont., assembly plant, which produces such mid-sized 111 sedans as the Chrysler Intrepid and Concord. All those plans, DeSloovers said, have been thrown in doubt by last week's takeover bid. "It's a debt laden company, the first thing that goes is capital expenditures."

In Windsor, Chrysler Canada executives declined to comment on Kerlikow's bid. Still corporate spokesman Walt McCall: "Anything

that happens at the United States is going to directly affect us. We are a 100 per cent-owned subsidiary and North America is ours as one market." Chrysler Canada manufactured 680 cars, minivans and trucks last year—45 per cent of which were shipped to the United States.

Under Eaton's leadership, North America's third largest automaker has been attempting to break out of the boom-and-bust cycle that characterized Iacocca's 14-year reign at Chrysler. In both the early 1980s and 1986, Chrysler stumbled in the battle at bankruptcy. The company needed Canadian and U.S. government loan guarantees to survive in 1986. Now, Chrysler is considered among the best-run automakers in the world. But its strategy of stockpiling cash for the inevitable rainy day has also made it vulnerable to a takeover.

What remains to be seen is whether Kerlikow is serious about wanting to control

have structured Chrysler to go right back into the sewer in the next downturn. Do I think this bid is for real? No, I think it's a joke."

But Kirk Kerlikow's comment can be laughed off. The Canadian-born chief of American management lawyers is known for bold, imaginative ideas. The former cargo pilot made a fortune building a charter airline, then made lively profits buying and selling control of marine stations and some of the world's largest hotels and casinos. One to look for, Kerlikow's stake in his stock in Chrysler in 1990 when the company was wracked with problems and shares were trading for about \$15.

Thanks to the popularity of its minivans and stylish new cars, Chrysler has seen its share price rise to a peak of more than \$80 in early 1990. However, as the past year investors have marked down the price of shares in all three U.S. automakers, expecting profits to drop as rising interest rates bite into car sales, Kerlikow has been sniping at Chrysler management since November, when he forced the board of directors to increase dividends for shareholders and award its "poison pill" takeover defense to make it harder for the company to raise money. Still, Chrysler shares were trading early last week near 20-week lows of \$25. The stock jumped \$2.50 on reports of Kerlikow's bid, closing the week at \$63.30.

The wild card in Kerlikow's bid is Iacocca. While the former chief executive's financial contribution is a relatively paltry penny 570 million in Chrysler shares, his influence is enormous. Iacocca was the public face of Chrysler during his years in the executive suite, appearing in 65 television ads for the company uttering slogans such as, "If you can find a better car, buy it." In a conference call with investment bankers last week, Iacocca insisted that he is not trying to talk back the critics of Chrysler management. But analysts said that he could stay in. "Lee Iacocca would want to be in there,"

Reisberg said. "He makes the Chrysler corporate jet." Reischberger added that Iacocca was "judged out" by the board after Chrysler's 2000 loans with bankruptcy, effectively sealing his plan to expand the company's overseas presence. Still DeSloovers: "Potentially, Iacocca could go on and increase his dreams of a global car company."

Chrysler's future has several options in fighting off Kerlikow and Iacocca. He can act, refusing to consider the takeover offer and buying shareholders will do the same. Chrysler could also look for a friendly suitor, buy out Kerlikow's stake to make him go away or raise share prices by using some of its \$10 billion in cash. But the takeover battle, says Chrysler, that will look dramatically different from this year's conservative design.

ANDREW WILLIS

BATTLE FOR CHRYSLER

Iacocca joins a bid that rocks Detroit's hottest automaker

Back in the late 1980s, before he was pushed out of his job as head of Chrysler Corp., Lee Iacocca had nothing but scars for corporate raiders. Discouraging them as opportunists "paralyzed by a fear for failure," he complained that hostile takeovers were forcing American leading companies to go deeply into debt rather than investing in research and new equipment. Last week, however, the veteran car executive already charged gains by joining an unlikely \$30-billion takeover bid for his former employer—which, if it succeeds, will saddle the world's hottest automaker with a stunning \$35 billion in new debt. If the 70-year-old Iacocca was at all embarrassed about his and his U-turn, he did not show it. He declared: "This is this is an inventor."

Iacocca's partner in the takeover bid for Chrysler is Kirk Kerlikow, a billionaire who is as much a legend among takeover artists as Iacocca is among the engineers and salesmen of Motor City. A shy, 77-year-old Las Vegas-based financier who has amassed a fortune in services, movie studios and casinos, Kerlikow already holds a 52.5-billion stake in Chrysler—a 10-percent share that makes him the company's largest shareholder. For months, though, Kerlikow has been leading with the company's senior managers, complaining that the stock was undervalued and that shareholders were being shortchanged. Most investors in the past year might have opted to sell their stake, but Kerlikow decided to up the ante—forcing Chrysler on to the defensive and all but guaranteeing himself a substantial profit.

Kerlikow's move clearly caught Chrysler



without creating a single job. Toronto-based auto analyst Dennis DeSloovers, meanwhile, said the looming takeover battle could scuttle plans to expand Canadian operations. Said DeSloovers: "The deal has serious implications for Canada that are quite negative."

If Kerlikow does manage to acquire Chrysler, it would rank as the second-largest corporate conquest of all time, after the \$63-billion buyout of RJR Nabisco in 1989. The bid itself is a throwback to the leveraged buyouts of the 1980s because neither Kerlikow nor Iacocca are paying much of their own money on the line. Instead, they propose to pay for the purchase by loading up the company with new debt and drawing on \$8 billion in cash reserves. Chrysler's annual cash after three wildly successful years profits were a record \$2.2 billion in 1989, \$3.4 billion in 1990 and \$700 million in 1991. For his part, Eaton said that Chrysler needed to hold on to its



Redesigning Chrysler's success
former chief executive Iacocca
helps "propelled by a fear for failure"

Chrysler, or whether he is merely trying to increase the price at the auction. Last week, a spokesman for the rider said he would welcome another large investor in his bid. But he also intends to speculate about a possible partnership between Kerlikow and the likes of Volkswagen AG, Mercedes-Benz and Toyota Motor Corp.—each of which would like to expand its influence in North America at a time when the U.S. dollar makes such purchases attractive.

Outside the financial community, Kerlikow's bid prompted widespread dismay. Jim Hirsch, a prominent Fort, Mich.-based auto consultant, said that the offer clearly puts the financier's interests ahead of Chrysler's. "If you take cash out of the car in a lot of debt, you

A knock against Canada

The storm clouds had been gathering for weeks. When Finance Minister Paul Martin tabled one of the most austere budgets in Canadian history on Jan. 27, many financial analysts upstaged. Even Canadian taxpayers, faced with

Moody's hit draws a yawn in financial markets



Curse breakers in Japan: new strength for the dollar

higher cuts to government services and social programs, seemed ready to swallow Martin's latter audience. But there was one problem in reception. Moody's Investors Service of New York City, the world's leading bond-rating agency, which had warned earlier that it might downgrade Canada's credit rating, said that it wanted to study the federal budget in more detail. Finally, last week, in what amounted to a stinging indictment of Martin's efforts, Moody's knocked Canada's rating from triple-A to double-A1—a decision that could ultimately increase the government's borrowing costs. Moody's reasons: a run-up in interest rates could shatter Martin's budget projections and send Canada's \$300-billion national debt soaring. Said Martin Manohel, a Victoria-based currency analyst: "Moody's is saying reducing the deficit may be much more difficult than the government thinks."

Despite Moody's pronouncement, when the rating cut finally came, the dollar stumbled briefly before rapidly rebounding and closing at 72.57 cents (U.S.), up 0.26 cents on the day. The dollar continued to gather strength throughout in London and Tokyo, and analysts were quick to point out that international financial markets had already compensated for the Moody's downgrading.

Even so, in the future the reduced rating could make it more expensive for Canadian government and corporate bonds. Says Ottawa's Jan. 31 report, over the next two years \$300 billion, or 60 per cent of Canada's total federal debt, will come due. The finance department still has to refinance that debt, and the Moody's decision, coupled with a warning by the government to limit its deficit-cutting targets, could significantly worsen the interest rates it must offer to attract new loans. "If there was evidence that the government was getting off its fiscal track," said Ted Carmichael, chief economist for investment dealer J.P. Morgan Securities Canada Inc., "lenders might not want to buy the debt."

Clearly, Moody's is convinced that Ottawa's fiscal plan still is flawed. In a news release, the firm stated: "The overall size of the public-sector deficit in Canada, even from a medium-term stabilisation program could have very negative financial consequences." Martin's budget also proposed to slash cash transfers to the provinces, causing them to

Moody's decision. "Most of the other rating agencies," said Chretien, "have recognized that we have had a very good budget."

Despite those assurances, the negative of fact from the Moody's downgrade could be widespread. Moody's rating system does not allow any corporations, municipality or province to have a higher standing than Canada's federal government. As a result, the government of British Columbia, numerous municipalities and over 150 city corporations like Imperial Oil Ltd. and Sun Life Assurance Co. of Canada, both of Toronto, have had ratings as some categories of their debts reduced along with Canada's. "We just get handicapped by our own government," said Sun Life chairman and chief executive John McNeil. "The government did not, and will not, come to grips with the deficit problem."

Canada's foreign currency borrowing also took a hit from Moody's and was downgraded from double-A1 to double-A2. These bonds, consisting of debt issued by Canada in the currency of another country, account for about \$30 billion of Canada's federal debt, as well as \$10 billion in B.C. government and B.C. Hydro bonds. In its latest release, Moody's stated that it was forced to reduce the rating on these bonds because foreign markets have become extremely volatile. And it said that Canada has virtually no way to control fluctuations in the value of its foreign-denominated debt. Added Moody's: "Highly indebted countries are particularly susceptible to sharp swings in international capital flows."

While the downgrade may not have registered as some might expect, Laura, its economist with the accounting debt group at Salomon Bros. Inc. in New York, said that Canada will now have a difficult time raising its triple-A rating because of the country's huge debt load. Laura says that she has compared Canada's debt with that of other industrialized nations. "A comparison of creditworthiness indicators showed that Canada was no longer a triple-A country," said Laura, "and there's little prospect that those numbers can be improved anytime soon." And that could cost Canadian taxpayers dearly.

TON PENNEBA, with JERRY JENSEN in Toronto

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The Bronfman gamble

BY BRENDA DALGLISH

Last week, as investors tried to get used to the idea of Seagram Co. Ltd. as a showbiz giant, America's newest media mogul was in California. Edgar Bronfman Jr. was visiting the executives that reflected his company's huge entertainment conglomerate MCA Inc. The 39-year-old Seagram chief executive had just completed an \$8-billion deal to buy 80 per cent of the shares of MCA Inc.—the company that gave the world *Jaws*, *Star Trek*, *Schindler's List* and *R.T.—*from Japanese electronics giant Matsushita Electric Industrial Co. It was a move that set the scene of the Bronfman family's whole future had been building towards for several years. His first foray into the entertainment industry came last year, after Seagram announced a 15-per-cent stake in the vast publishing and cable-TV empire Time Warner Inc. of New York City. Bronfman explained at the time that he

Seagram's \$8-billion purchase of MCA shows that show biz is hot

wanted Time Warner's distribution assets as much as he wanted to control producers. "Cable is a very valuable asset," he told *Weekend Update*. "We specifically would not want to buy into a company that was entertainment only. There's a large degree of risk and volatility in entertainment assets."

By last week, Bronfman appeared to have a change of heart. He was not giving interviews, but during a conference call with entertainment analysts to explain the MCA purchase, he stressed ownership, not distribution, as the most important part of the business. "Content is the actual product the consumer pays for, regardless of the distribution mechanism," he said. "It is the most vital link in the value chain of the communications entertainment industry."

With MCA, Seagram has bought almost nothing but content. The firm's assets include Universal Pictures, which has produced a string of major hits and has a movie library that is among the largest in the world. MCA also owns several music companies, including MCA Records, Griffin Records and Capricorn. It has a television production unit (*Murder, She Wrote*, *Northern Exposure*), a book publisher, theme parks and a video distributor. It also has a major interest in Cineplex Odeon Corp., the Toronto-based theatre chain, along with partner Charles Bronfman. Edgar Jr. is uncle and co-owner of Seagram.

But despite on what defines the entertainment industry aside, it was Bronfman's way of taking over MCA that shook Wall Street investors. He



ended his acquisition by selling a highly profitable stake in E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., the chemical company that brought in more than half of the liquor company's profit of \$1 billion last year. Seagram's share price wildly rose to \$26.35 as dividend-seeking shareholders held on for more interest investments. Some analysts suggested that Bronfman was seduced by the glamour of the movie industry. By the end of last week, however, sentiment had begun to turn, and even some conservative investors in Canadian pension funds showed signs of wavering in the value of entertainment investing. According to some experienced investors, it is part of a



Edgar Bronfman and wife Christina (left). Customer in *Waterworld* (right). E.T. (far right); the assets include Universal Pictures, Griffin Records, and theme parks

new trend to overinvest in intangible assets like movie stars and recording companies. And, they add, the business may not even be as risky as it first seemed to investors more accustomed to hard assets and predictable cash flow.

That conclusion is supported by the Royal Bank's Rob Munroe, senior manager of entertainment advice. He says that of the losses totaling \$300 million that he has made in the entertainment industry in the past five years, none has gone bad. "Astute people around the world are beginning to understand why, whether it be Bill Gates of Microsoft buying original art, or Rupert Murdoch buying textbook publishers," and Warner "in the 300-channel universe, in the Internet world, the thing that people are going to be tuning into is content."

There are uncertainties, however, about the MCA investment. In the short term, it is struggling to release *Waterworld*, an expensive action-adventure movie starring Kevin Costner, which costs Hollywood studios more in such expensive fees as Homer's Gate and Akiba. MCA has reportedly already spent at least \$200 million on the project, about five times the cost of making an average Hollywood movie. When marketing and distribution costs are added in, the movie will likely have to gross more than \$300 million

just to break even. That is more than possible if the movie is a hit. Director Steven Spielberg's *Jaws* costed \$13.3 billion in box office, video and merchandise revenues. But if a film does not reach an \$500 million gross, a huge loss looms. The *Quest* and the *Dad*, a recently released comedy waste starring Sharon Stone, which moved out of theatres quickly, has taken in box-office revenues of just \$25 million.

In addition, Bronfman and his father, Seagram's chairman Edgar Sr., are expected to make some changes in the company's management. They may in meetings for much of last week with MCA's chairman, 65-year-old Lew Wasserman, and president Sidney Sheinberg, 60. The two industry giants have important personal friendships with Spielberg, whose movies are MCA's greatest source of money makers. But Spielberg, music executive David Geffen and Jeffrey



Katzenberg, former head of Disney studios, have just launched a multibillion-dollar production venture called DreamWorks, which could become a major competitor for MCA.

Bronfman apparently wants to keep Wasserman and Sheinberg on his side, if only because of that connection. But Hollywood is also expecting the Bronfmans to introduce some new blood. Among the names being suggested as possible MCA executives, supervisor agent Michael Ochs, a Hollywood power broker whose father was a major salesman for Seagram and who is a longtime friend of Edgar Jr., and Barry Diller, former head of Paramount Pictures and the Fox television network.

Finally, the Bronfmans will have to decide what to do with their stakes in Time Warner. Edgar Jr. told analysts recently that, although he might eventually sell the holding, there was no urgency to do so. Time Warner has never secured control with Seagram's invest-

ment. It created a poison-pill provision designed to prevent Seagram from raising its stake above 15 per cent, and it included Bronfman's efforts to obtain a seat on the board. Time Warner, which is itself described as the best and most diversified entertainment company, has assets that include Warner Bros. film studios, HBO, Atlantic Records, *Time* magazine and cable-television companies. Unlike Time Warner, MCA mainly owns content producers, not cable or network television companies that carry the content.

But Bronfman is still interested in the distribution end of the business. When the MCA purchase was announced, he indicated that Seagram would be willing to make more cash available to MCA to permit future acquisitions in cable or network-television businesses. Before Bronfman's move, MCA had wanted to expand into television. Indeed, some of its biggest disagreements in its unhappy five-

year relationship with Murdoch's were over the Japanese company's refusal to provide financial support for acquisitions that MCA considered crucial to its development, including an attempted purchase bid for NBC television network. When asked directly by analysts last week about his plans, Bronfman said that he does not want to go under way. But he added that both he and his father, who was born in Montreal, are American citizens. Australian media baron Rupert Murdoch took out American citizenship to get around foreign ownership restrictions when he established the Fox television network in the mid-1980s.

Seagram has the financial strength to back any acquisition



attribution. It received about \$11 billion from the sale of du Pont, then paid \$8 billion for MCA. It put the remaining \$3 billion towards Seagram's \$8-billion deal. And it still has a \$3-billion investment in Time Warner, which could be sold to raise cash.

Bronfman's move out of du Pont and into entertainment was initially greeted with skepticism by analysts and investors, especially those who held Seagram shares for the comparatively good dividends that they paid. Last



Canadian companies and investors turn to show biz for profits

Morrice (right) with Michael Morrice of Atlantic bank money

year. So again's dividends amounted to 80 cents a share. Many investors who owned Seagrams shares for their regular profits and dividends rather than long-term growth bailed out. But by the end of last week, other investors were expressing confidence in the Brazilian investment survey and in the future of the entertainment business, and the value of Seagrams shares had recovered about two dollars of its eight-dollar loss. Said Jacques Kondek, an analyst with Levesque Brothers Securities in Montreal: "The Brazilian market has proved to be very resilient in reality. Remember, that even if Edgar were star struck, he's using \$2 billion of his father's money and \$2 billion of his uncle's money, and they're not going to let him get carried away." Edgar Jr. and Charles, company founder Sam Weintraub's sons, own 32 per cent of Seagram's shares.

Seagram's name is part of a trend that has seen several big investors doubling at entertainment. Gerald Schwartz, president of Toronto-based Orna Corp., which made its fortune from leveraged buyouts in the 1980s, announced last fall that he is looking to buy an interest in a major movie studio. Orna already owns a small stake in Alliance Communications Corp., the Toronto-based entertainment company founded by Robert Lantos "Moses," explains Schwartz, "is the locomotive that drove the entertainment business."

As an example, Schwartz notes, revenues from video games last year exceeded the box-office revenue from movies. But many of the video games were based on movies. "Think of the entertainment business as an inverted funnel," he says. "At the wide end is distribution,

where all kinds of new technology is rapidly increasing the number and types of outlets. At the very other end is the movie business, which hasn't grown much at all. And yet it is the sector that drives everything down the line." Schwartz says that the biggest potential for profits is at the narrow end.

Schwartz says that he and Michael Morrice, a Hollywood veteran who produced *The*

Gwen's Schwartz: wants a studio



Silence of the Lambs and *Amadeus*, are in the market for a studio. Schwartz insists that he is interested in the profits, not the glamour, and has no interest in either managing the company or serving in California. "I never," he added, "want to read a script." Schwartz also has his eyes on beer maker John Labatt Ltd. of London, Ont., whose assets, in addition to the Blue

Boys baseball team and sports network 108, include companies that do television productions and make commercials. But Labatt's entertainment assets are not as profitable as its core brewing business, and investors have been pressing the company to sell them. Although Schwartz said last week that Labatt is one of the companies he is thinking of buying, he declined comment on rumors that he would quickly sell off the brewing business and refocus the entertainment sector.

Profits and movies are not always happy companions, although they do travel some surprising byways. The Royal Bank's Morrice cites 1993's surprise hit, the low-cost British movie *The China Game*, which cost about \$5 million to produce, and is expected to share more than \$75 million in revenue. But, for every single hit, there are many bad ones. No-

factor has found a way to reduce risk is to provide a proven or television series to several international distributors, thus covering most of the cost of production. Canadian producers have been at the forefront of this style of production. Instead because of the comparatively low revenues from box-office and television deals in a small domestic market. Morrice says that other production companies around the world are also increasingly seeking to reduce risk and maximize profits by producing their products.

Morrice, who sits in France and Scotland last week at meetings of international film and television producers, is looking to expand the Royal Bank's entertainment lending to non-Canadian companies. The bank also acts as a merchant banking subsidiary last year to make equity investments in entertainment and computer software ventures.

Even conservative investors are moved into the entertainment business. Canada's growing list of publicly traded entertainment companies regularly get calls from institutional investors and pension-fund managers who want to learn more about the business. Bob Bortman, senior vice-president of investments for the Ontario

"Teacher" Pension Plan Board, says that his fund is making television bets into the industry, including in video. "We have an investment in the Mike Smith," says Bortman. "And what's more it's not entertainment!" And for newly minted investor Edgar Broad, fresh from a week in Hollywood, what is business if it's not entertainment? □

BUDGET BALANCE

Now Scotia's provincial government is drawing closer to balancing its books. Unleashing its new budget last week, Finance Minister Dennis Rossiter projected a \$150-million overall deficit for fiscal 1995-1996, the lowest in 15 years. The budget contained \$20 million worth of tax cuts and no tax increases. Now Scotia's accumulated debt is \$11 billion.

ABITIBI UPGRADE

Abitibi-Price Inc. of Toronto will spend \$242 million to upgrade its pulp mills in Ingouville Falls, Ont., and Alton, Que. The company said it plans to introduce a chemical-free pulping process that lowers production costs. The new process is to be implemented in 1996.

NATIONAL NEWS

Paul Carbo, the man who tried but failed to rescue Confederation Life Insurance Co., will take over as president and chief executive officer of National Trustco Inc. on May 1. Confederation, created by a portfolio of bad real estate loans, was closed by regulators last August. Before joining Carbo, Carbo was an executive at the CIBC.

ROYAL REVENUE

A group of 1,100 shareholders of the now-defunct Royal Trustco has launched a class-action lawsuit against 41 former directors and executives of the company. The suit claims that shareholders were misled about the company's financial position. The shareholders estimate that more than 20,000 people lost more than \$1 billion Royal Trust's 1990 collapse.

RAY STREET BLUES

The founder and head of First Maritime Securities Ltd., Lawrence Bloomberg, reported earnings of \$2.7 million for 1994 that is down from \$6 million in the previous year when Bloomberg was the high-profile executive at any publicly traded company. The brokerage firm's profit fell to \$2.7 million in 1994, down from \$7.2 million a year earlier.

PLAZA SWEEP

Real estate mogul Donald Trump is selling a controlling interest in New York City's landmark Plaza Hotel to a Saudi Arabian prince and a Singaporean-based hotel company for \$400 million. CGL Hotels International Ltd., the hotel arm of Singapore Hong Leong Group, said it formed a joint venture with Saudi Arabian Prince Ali Mubarak bin Tahir bin Abdulaziz Al Saud. Trump currently owns 65 per cent of the 85-room Plaza.

Business NOTES



Showcasing success outside the firm's annual meeting: an environmental parade

Protesters target MacBlo

After 25 hours of listening by environmentalists, Ray Smith, chairman of MacMillan Bloedel Ltd., abruptly ended the company's annual meeting in Vancouver last week. While Smith and president Bob Fordy tried to tell shareholders about the forestry company's improved performance in 1994, environmentalists turned the meeting into a three-day camp. They dumped a load of refuse in front of the hotel entrance where the meeting was being held. A Greenpeace member and a labor leader unsuccessfully tried to get elected to the board of directors. And one member of a group named Forest Action Network charged from a rope suspended from the hotel's roof, 24 stories above the ground, holding a banner that read "No MB in Cleyopot dies." Christopher Hatch, who was at the meeting representing the group Friends of Chequamegon Sound, opposed MacMillan Bloedel's plan to log the old growth forest on the west coast of Vancouver Island.

"This company is an environmental pariah," said Hatch. "People no longer want their telephone books to come from old-growth forests." Meanwhile, company executives assured shareholders that MacMillan Bloedel is on track to earn \$300 million in 1995, up from \$200 million in 1994. It is a bid for greater regional diversification. Fordy said that the company, which has most of its assets in British Columbia, has revealed in a new search use-friendly Fibreboard plant in Canada. It has also bought a stake in a building materials plant in Denage, Mexico.

Rate hike wanted

In preparation for competition in the local telephone business, Bell Canada plans to let local telephone rates for businesses in Montreal, Toronto and some suburban areas as much as 25 per cent. But rates for companies in most other parts of Ontario and Quebec would rise by as much as 61 per cent. Bell asked the plan at a time when phone companies across Canada are reviewing their rates as a result of a decision by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission last fall to open the local telephone market to competition. Bell's representatives in small centers were shocked by the move. Said George Cameron, a lawyer and vice-president of the Chamber of Commerce in Barrie, Ont.: "Local competition [in Bell] may not come here, so our rates may never come down."



Can the BQ make the PQ dream come true?

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

The most fascinating politician in the country, by quite a wide margin, is Lucien Bouchard, the leader of the Bloc Québécois (BQ). Dedicated to the single-minded goal of converting the country that he swore in as MP to uphold, he manages almost effortlessly to dominate Canada's political agenda.

Any political movement like the Bloc Québécois that champions no greater cause than the destruction of the system that gave it birth has little claim to legitimacy, and by rights ought to be relegated to the outer fringe of things that matter. But by the sheer strength of his personality and intellect, Bouchard has transformed the debate over the country's future.

Though a series of carefully planned maneuvers, he has in the past two weeks revealed how ill-planned Jacques Parizeau's political career really is. The PQ premier's idea of great government comes down to the simple act of making coverage for the *Bleu* (Canadian of Quebec in 1794) (Parizeau is such a true believer in the concept of secession that he cares not a whit how independence is achieved or how Quebec's economy and its citizens might suffer in the process, just so long as he gets to be president of the new Republic) not cut by the *Discorde* from the border of his language.

The great irony of the situation is that to achieve that goal he needs the support of Bouchard, his rival and would-be successor—who last week may have given him the formula for achieving the sovereignty option for which he pushes.

It's difficult to keep up with the Bloc leader's policy (and loyalty) switches, but his latest intention goes all the way back to Feb. 24, 1984. That afternoon, Robert Bourassa, then a defeated federal premier whose party was out of power, presented a brief to the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada, better known as the Macdonald

Jacques Parizeau's rival and would-be successor may have provided the formula for achieving the sovereignty option

commission. The paper, which he had conceived while teaching and studying at the University of Southern California, Yale and Johns Hopkins in the United States, and the limited, less efficient *discorde* in Belgium, revealed a new system of government for Canada. Nobody paid much attention because Bourassa seemed to be peremptorily rebuffed, but his "brief for all the partners in the federation" is almost exactly what Bouchard is advocating.

Bourassa recommended replacing Canada's Senate with "a permanent inter-governmental forum that would have real powers in areas where the governments agree cooperatively" or, as an alternative, intergovernmental and federal provincial conferences with executive powers on particular issues. The vision of Canada was indistinguishable from those Lévesque's sovereignty association initiative, calling for this country's government to consist of "two orders of government which function in harmony, independent of each other, as if they existed in two parallel universes." Although the former premier contended that nothing in his submission "justifies in and of itself a concentration of all powers of

the state in the capital of an independent Quebec," his brief includes with many references to "two equal and sovereign orders of government within a single state, each having their respective areas of jurisdiction." It's not surprising that in 1987, when Lévesque and he were both members of the Quebec Liberal Party, Bourassa helped the future leader of the Parti Québécois draft the initial sovereignty-association proposals that went down to defeat in the 1980 referendum. Bourassa stayed with the Liberals mainly because Lévesque proposed that his version of an independent Quebec would have its own currency, and as an economist Bourassa knew this wouldn't work. But in an 80% when he first became premier, Bourassa came out strongly for Quebec becoming a francophone state within a Canadian common market.

Now, Bouchard, by advocating a similar policy and using the threat of not conspiring in the fall referendum (if Parizeau doesn't come on side, he has faced the issue to a flash point. Most Canadians outside Quebec who have watched the two candidates in public have assumed that the separatist crisis is over. They have comforted themselves with the notion that once if the PQ referendum question is switched to some form of sovereignty-association, it would be a dead issue, since no one in the other regions of Canada is in a mood to accept a proposal that would allow 24 per cent of the population to exercise 20 per cent of the power.

But it's not that easy. The first and most obvious advantage of having the sovereignty association option on a ballot is that it would bring on side. Maria Daman's Parti acadien des Acadiens, the small but pivotal group of "half" nationalists who oppose separatist movements but want to maintain links with Canada. (Had the Parti acadien des Acadiens vote gone to Parizeau in last year's provincial election, the PQ would have won a slim majority of all voters cast.) It would also weaken the cause between Liberal Leader Daniel Johnson's position of supporting federation with stronger provincial rights, the devotion of Joe Clark and Paul Martin have been marginal) and the PQ's sovereignty-association stance, which would claim that as well as its own power, Quebec would get a 10-per-cent say in what's left of the federal powers.

Bouchard is far too shrewd to believe for a moment that Jacques Canada would accept such a one-sided deal, but he sees it as the only way of winning the referendum. If the current momentum by the PQ government in this fall has three parts, saying no to rank their preferences for independence, economic union or federation, chances are high that the total of ballots marked for the first two choices would add up to well over 50 per cent. Parizeau and Bouchard would then repeat the same old Quebec referendum. If that were achieved, and devolved that Ottawa began some heavy negotiations.

It's a risky scenario, but it could happen

DIVINE GOLFING

Far golfer Ben Crenshaw, it was a particularly emotional all week. On April 2, Crenshaw's lifelong friend, member and mentor Harvey Penick, as the of the golfing bible, *The Late Book Book*, died at age 90. The day after serving as a publisher of Penick's funeral in Austin, Tex., Crenshaw flew back to Augusta, Ga., to play in one of golf's most important and prize-filled tournaments, The Masters. Still, 46-year-old Crenshaw, who had won the event in 1984, shot a miserable 14-under-par 204 to win the championship and the right to don its famous green jacket. After missing his winning putt, Crenshaw broke down and cried. "I had a 15th club in my bag," he said, "and I won Harvey."

Crenshaw's wife Julie cried.



PEOPLE

FOR BETTER OR WORSE

What if it about constitutional lawyer Delia Coyne and the *Globe and Mail*? In September, 1991, the *Toronto* newspaper trumpeted the news that the married Coyne had had a daughter, Sarah Elisabeth, with her latest partner, Pierre Trudeau. Coyne's only comment at the time was terse: "I never talk about my private life in public." Last week, the *Globe* again reported on Coyne's personal life, this time to note that she is engaged to one of the paper's own, columnist Michael Valpy. The *Toronto* edition, page 22, where the *Globe* described in a "fascinating, unreported association," and Coyne, 49, a policy adviser to the federal Liberal party in Ottawa, are planning to marry on June 16—the Queen's birthday. According to Valpy, the two have known each other privately for years, but recently met again socially at a dinner party hosted by Toronto lawyer Clayton Ruby. Still a senior editor at the *Globe*, "The whole revelation was a bit surprising."

Coyne's private



THE WRIGHT STUFF

When Vancouver author R. L. Wright wrote his last crime novel, *The Septent*, in 1980, he did not expect her characters to take on a life of their own. "I didn't realize that it would turn into a series," says Wright, who has just released *Master Love*, her seventh mystery novel featuring Karl Alberg, an inner-city writer based in Seattle, B.C., and his long-suffering girlfriend, Cassandra Mitchell. "I was just writing a story." That story, and the others that



Wright: "I know what it is like to be Canadian."

followed, caught on with readers in Canada and the United States. In fact, *Underdog* Canada has just released a *Wright's Guide* to her plots and characters, the publisher's first such guide for a Canadian author. Wright attributes part of her popularity to the fact that her books, set on British Columbia's Sunshine Coast, are distinctly Canadian. "There are small touches like loonies, and I think people like that," she adds. And the reason she includes such Canadiana is not so much nationalism as the time-honored advice to write one—in the words of what they know. "I was born here," says Wright, "and I know what it is like to be Canadian."



THE END OF A GOOD RUN

Not with a bang, but a whimper—that is how the end came for the long-running Murphy-brother TV show *Front Page Challenge*. The one announced last week that the last of the 30-minute program had been filmed back in February. Host Fred Dryer, 73, and the pastiche-writer Pierre Berthia, 74, radio personality Jack Kennedy, 69, caricatured on Bob Weir, 72, and Melvin's columnist Allan Fotheringham, 64—re-created world by telephone about the cancellation of the show, which went on the air in 1957. *Front Page Challenge*'s many guests have included

such newsmen as Gordie Howe, Indira Gandhi and Martin Luther King—as well as every Canadian news anchor since Louis B. Lortie, with the single exception of Brian Mulroney. At its peak, the program attracted more than two million viewers, but in recent years its audience has shrunk to 500,000. Weir predicted that the show would be "lovely missed by Canadians of all ages." "Wherever I went, I would hear people say, 'Oh, I know from *Front Page Challenge*!'—and they weren't all to be whistled."

Edited by BARBARA WICKENS

Your child won't be able to get by on cute looks alone.



You probably don't believe you have a role to play in helping your child to read. You probably think it takes a professional to encourage kids. You're wrong. Who taught your child to walk and talk? Who taught them to eat at the table, use the potty, and ride a bike? You've already qualified as a teacher. What you probably don't know is that half of your child's mental ability is developed between birth and age four. The first six years of your child's life are vital. Reading must be a part of those years. Give your child an advantage. **Teach your child to read.**



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SEARS

It takes Roch Carrier two hours to drive from his job as head of the Canada Council in Ottawa to his home in Montreal. But for Carrier the trip is well worth it because it means he can read bedtime stories to his grandchildren. Carrier is motivated by memories of

his own childhood. "It was during the Second World War and I remember at every dinner my parents were discussing what they had read in the newspaper. And to me they knew everything, and they knew it because they were reading. So I was interested in reading the newspapers so I would know everything too."

Because his parents gave him "not only the technique but the taste for reading," Carrier went on to become a writer whose works include perhaps the most beloved Canadian short story, *The Hockey Sweater*. That's why he is enthusiastic about an event that promotes the love of reading,

Born To Read Day. On April 24th, nearly two million schoolchildren will be given a free copy of the book *Born To Read*, which tells parents how to help their children become more literate.

Born To Read Day recognizes that literacy has major implications for the economic, social and spiritual health of the country. At a time when literacy is perhaps more important than ever, roughly 24 per cent of Canadian adults are functionally illiterate. Dr. Fraser Mustard, president of the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research, warns that "as much as 30 per cent of our youth may soon be handicapped in literacy skills, and that could turn us into a two-tiered society of haves and have-nots." Linda Mackend of the National

Association of Active in Criminal Justice, points out that 65 per cent of people entering prison for the first time have trouble reading and writing. "Low literacy is part of a constellation of problems that can limit choices in life and thus lead people to criminal activity."

"Business' concern with literacy goes beyond making sure letter carriers can read the address on an envelope," says David Newman, director of public relations for Canada Post Corp., which has taken a major interest in literacy training both inside and outside the company. "Innovation and creativity—the things that drive our culture forward, that create change—happen through reading and the stimulation of the imagination. People who read feel more enriched, are more creative, even to the extent of helping us to solve our business problems. Employees who can express themselves can better analyze their work and find ways to do it better."

Of course, corporations have always been concerned about higher education. But they've tended to stand on the sidelines when it comes to children's education, says Frank of Montreal president Tony Cooper. "Business can no longer afford to wait until Canada's young people reach college and university level before our support kicks in," says Cooper. "We need to help prepare the next generation for college and university—and for the high-potential jobs that lie beyond."

At the same time, says David Newman, "literacy is a quality of life as well as an economic issue." Virginia Davis agrees. "We do look to literature, both fiction and nonfiction, as a means of finding out we're not alone, helping us work through problems by seeing how someone else handled them, and dispelling some of the mystery about the future," says Davis, past-president of the Canadian Association of



LITERACY BEGINS AT HOME

Children's librarians and a consultant to school and public libraries for National Book Service.

Talk to anyone who has achieved success in any field — or is simply leading a happy, fulfilling life — and you will frequently find that books play a major role. Rich Carrier says that whenever he feels discouraged as a writer, he reads the autobiography of Victor Hugo. As a competitive swimmer, Mark Tewksbury found his love of Jane Austen, Maya Angelou and J.D. Salinger an important support. "When I was in a training camp situation, it's so insular and so self-absorbing — I couldn't wait to get back to my hotel room and get back into the book, just to get away from that world for a while." Since winning gold and bronze medals at the Barcelona Olympics, Tewksbury has developed a career as a motivational speaker, a natural outgrowth of his love of reading aloud.

As vice-president, sales and services for Bell Canada, Tony Cassetta has frequently traveled to countries where chil-

dren lack literacy skills and seek the power that results. Cassetta himself could easily have passed books by the parents, Italian immigrants, but only a few years of school between them, never read in them and had little money for books. But one of his playmates dragged him to the library, and once Cassetta got there, he stayed. "I remember sitting on the floor in the library at Eglington, just west of Dufferin, reading about engines." Cassetta is still a heavy reader primarily because he is passionate about information. "I just like to know things."

Valerie Pringle, co-host of "Canada AM," CTV's early morning show, reads so much for her work, she says, "Reading is my life." Pringle and her husband have encouraged reading at home — "our house is cluttered with books" — and Pringle has

made a point of reading with her kids, especially the youngest who had some initial difficulties. "I finally felt that I had done something as a mother when I read Charlotte's Web and my kids started to cry at the right places."

Being able to digest large amounts of information quickly is important to David Crombie, too. But reading is also "a beloved hobby" for the former Secretary of State and veteran of many government commissions. Along with Margaret Atwood, Senator Keith Dwyer and Senator Joyce Fairbairn, minister

with special responsibility for Literacy, Crombie is one of the individual sponsors of Born to Read Day. "I've been a library card holder almost as long as I could walk. Shirley, my wife, and I go just about every Friday. To me the



library is like putting on a pair of old shoes for the weekend."

When Crombie had a heart attack "Peter Wertheim came down when I was still in intensive care with a shopping bag of books." To deal with the emotional aftereffects, Crombie read the works of the mystic Simone Weil and the theologian Martin Buber. "I can't imagine life without the understanding you get through books," says Crombie.

So if reading is so important to a successful and fulfilled life, how do we ensure our children have that skill? As Brian Fisher, co-ordinator of the Family Literacy Interest Group of Ontario, explains, increasingly the emphasis is on "family literacy" — developing a "reading positive" atmosphere in the home.

Research has shown that literacy problems tend to run in families. One British study found that children whose parents had literacy problems were twice as likely to access in the bottom 25 per cent of readers. (They were also more likely to have problems in math.)

A lack of reading at home "doesn't necessarily mean a child won't become a reader," says Fisher. "But it's going up to bat with two strikes against you."

To encourage reading, programs like Born to Read Day have to reach parents — both those who believe in the importance of reading but do not do anything about it, and those who have reading problems themselves. At least part of the problem is attitude. A program at the University of North Carolina found that parents whose children had reading problems were inclined to view academic learning as having little practical value — except as a ticket to a better job or social acceptance. These parents did not believe their children were capable of doing any academic learning until they reached school age, and so they made no effort to prepare

their children for school.

A positive attitude to reading seems to be the most important factor. Although his parents were not exactly Oxford dons, writer and cartoonist Ben Wicks says he was lucky because there were always stacks of reading material in his home. "My dad worked for the Daily Mirror in London as a

printer. My mother was a chair lady at The Times. So our house was full of newspapers. I was constantly reading comics."

As a patron of Lushoot Literacy of Canada, Wicks became aware of the extent of literacy problems in the country. Out of that concern came his book *Born to Read* and the idea of distributing it to schoolchildren across the country.

The good news, says Wicks, is that even parents who have difficulty reading or who can not read at all can help their children. Indeed, recent research indi-



Education is not the
filling of a pail,
but the lighting of a fire.

— William Butler Yeats

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cator that children begin to lay the groundwork for literacy when they begin learning to speak — that one says that virtually anything you do with your child that involves language and communication — telling stories, reciting nursery rhymes, singing songs or simply talking — will help to build reading skills.

But even parents who are convinced of the importance of reading can have trouble finding the time or coming up with the best ways to help their children, says Virginia Davis. It's never too early to start: "Even if parents are busy later, pretty well all mothers stay at home for the first few months. If they start immediately to read to the child and sing they'll give that child a tremendous boost for the future."

Reading to children is still important even when they are old enough to read on their own. Until the 19th century most

Reading regularly is also important. "Someone once estimated that it takes 18,000 hours to get really good at something," says Olson. "With reading, that's spread out over 20 years. But if you do a little every day, it's like eating your vitamins." It helps to set a special time for reading, Olson adds. In one US study, researchers found that many children who had reading problems lived in homes where there was little structure, including no set bedtime, and therefore no bedtime stories.

Virginia Davis says it is also very important for men to read aloud. "One of the reasons North American culture is not as literate as some other cultures is we do not see men reading as much." Because her own father read to the family at dinner every night, "all of us, without any pain, developed large vocabularies and write very fluently."

If parents have trouble knowing what books their children need, librarians and booksellers can help, says Davis. "It's terribly important to find someone who can keep providing a child with more and more challenging reading. Kids don't just find it on their own."

But as crucial as literacy is, reading is primarily meant to be enjoyable, to nurture us as human beings. Children should not be forced to read material they do not enjoy. And parents must be patient with kids, says Olson. "Kids learn little bits of a lot of things and eventually it all falls together." It is also important for parents not to pressure themselves, or allow society to make them feel like failures if they are poor readers themselves.

Ultimately, as *Born To Read* points out, even parents who can't read have many ways of encouraging their children's literacy. And when parents do give their children a taste for reading, concludes Rach Camer, it can have a tremendous effect on their lives. "Without books I would sell gas at the pumps or be a hamburger or construction worker. I had the privilege of having parents who gave me the taste for books. It opened my life." ■

Written by Denise Davis, a Toronto freelance writer and playwright. Designed by Paul Jurely



BORN TO READ DAY APRIL 24, 1995

What is "Born to Read day"?

It was not until recently that writer and cartoonist Ben Wicks realized just how serious a reading problem Canada has. "I was shocked because I'm part of the news media and even I didn't know how bad it was," says Wicks.

Recognizing that literacy begins at home, Wicks decided to develop a book that would explain to all parents, even those who have reading problems themselves, how they can help their kids learn to love reading. Various literacy groups offered research and support. Wicks then enlisted the help of Canada Post, the Bank of Montreal, Borden Canada Inc., Bell, Sevens Canada Inc., SmithKline, Big V Pharmacies Ltd., Kollig Canada Inc., Southern Inc., Noranda, Brown, Valley Canada Inc., Synovate Canada Ltd., MacMillan/McGraw-Hill Limited, the Edmonton Oilers Hockey Club and MetLife to pay the costs of producing the books and Canada Post helped provide the distribution.

The result? On April 24th, nearly two million schoolchildren from kindergarten to Grade 2 will receive a free copy of Wicks's book *Born To Read*. This is a book for parents written by Ben Wicks. It is a "how to" guide that will encourage parents to spend more time reading with their children. Wicks hopes it will become the catalyst for greater public awareness of the importance of family literacy. "It's addressing what I think is a critical problem."



The other discovery channel.

Sharing a book opens the door to a world of imagination and sets a child on a path of discovery. That's why Bank of Montreal believes in "Born to Read Day." With our support, we hope to bring out the reader in every child. Together, we can help them develop a passion for learning.



reading was done aloud, points out David Olson, professor of applied cognitive sciences at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education and author of *The World on Paper*, a book dealing with the historical and cultural implications of writing and reading. "Parents should be reminded that the highlight of reading for children is not to read by themselves, but to read together. My experience is that even when kids get to be in high school they can sometimes understand things better if they're read to them. Reading should be thought of as social activity." Word games, poetry, talking about the sound and meaning of words can all give children's interest and build reading habits.



ENVIRONMENT

Feeling the heat

Imagine a world of relentlessly rising temperatures, where famulans are scathed into desert and island waters like the Great Lakes shrink in the heat. As global warming intensifies, the polar ice caps dwindle and ocean levels rise by more than 100 feet, swamping low-lying islands and coastal areas. Vancouver, Halifax, New York City, Amsterdam, Shanghai and other port cities are inundated. As the global floodwaters rise, more than a quarter of the world's population is displaced. Take the nightmare vision a bit further and it becomes the worst scenario conjured by Kevin Costner's ecothriller *Waterworld*—the human race clinging to survival in an aquatic habitat. And so it must all be fiction, right? Not necessarily. Plenty of scientists believe that the growing accumulation of hazardous gases in the Earth's atmosphere could intensify such temperatures to dangerously high levels and bring catastrophic changes to the planet. And after a year that has seen unusually warm weather in some places, violent flooding in others and an ice melt coinciding in the Arctic, some scientists think that hands-

Some scientists say that climate change has already begun to affect the globe

already climate change is no longer just a possibility—it might be happening now.

That thought could inject a note of urgency as thousands of Canadians flock to marine conservation, plant trees or take their kids on nature walks on April 22 to mark Earth Day. On the 25th anniversary of the first Earth Day, environmentalists have something to yell about: their efforts over the years have helped to put governments into cleaning up lakes, reducing car use and enacting a growing array of legislation aimed at preserving the planet's eco-system. Yet many key environmental goals remain unfulfilled—and there

is all the task of persisting nations to drastically cut back the massive emissions that may be superheating the Earth's atmosphere.

In recent years, experts have calculated that global temperatures could rise by as much as 4.9°C by the end of the next century—the hottest rise could now contribute to the greenhouse effect by trapping heat-trapping gases like carbon dioxide (CO₂) into the atmosphere. So far, efforts to reduce the emissions have achieved little. "If you look at current CO₂ levels compared with business levels in the planet's history," says Philip Jones, an atmospheric scientist at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, "it's clear we're headed right off the chart."

The latest attempt at engineering a major reduction in emissions was only a limited success. At a meeting of about 120 nations in Berlin earlier this month, Canada was cast in the unenviable role of environmental bad guy. The Canadian delegates joined with the United States, Australia and Japan to block a proposal under which the signatories would have agreed to a 50-per cent reduction in emissions by 2005. Instead, the conference

led to settle for a compromise agreement by the industrialized nations to restrict on another two years of negotiations to decide what reductions they are willing to attempt after the year 2000. "It was the best we could squeeze out of the political process at this time," said Laurier. Corneil, climate change expert for the Ottawa-based Sierra Club of Canada. "But in terms of what needs to be done for the atmosphere, it was a very big failure."

Worse still, many of the industrialized nations exhibited in Berlin that they probably will not even meet the modest goals agreed to at the 1992 Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit of reducing emissions to 1990 levels by the end of the century. Environment Canada officials say that, so far, Canada's annual goal for voluntary emission reductions appears likely to fall 13 per cent short of the Rio targets. De-

laware in Eastern Canada, the crumbling of an Antarctic ice shelf—the result of global warming—is a clear sign, says scientist Richard Jelliffe, a University of Toronto climatologist who uses computer-based models to study the Earth's historical weather patterns, "as to whether anything that is happening now can be attributed to the greenhouse effect."

Other experts, including James Hansen, a New York-based climatologist for the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration, are not so sure. Seven years ago, as North Americans sweltered through a record-breaking heat wave, Hansen became one of the first prominent scientists to suggest that the world was in fact living the effects of global warming. Since then, says Hansen, the evidence has grown even more persuasive. "We can't blame everything that happens on the greenhouse effect," says Hansen. "But what global warming has done is lead the dice in favor of warmer-than-normal seasons and extreme climate events."



Petrochemical plant in Surrey, Ont.; flooding in Germany (left); heated access in the latest multinational efforts to reduce emissions into the atmosphere

spire that, Environment Minister Sheila Copps, who led the Canadian delegation in Berlin, insists that Canada will ultimately meet the Rio commitment. To help do that, Copps said that Ottawa would work towards tougher auto emission standards, Canada converting federal vehicle fleets to alternate fuels and extend the federal building code to require greater energy efficiency. She said that lifestyle changes were needed to reduce energy consumption. "I think when Canadians make these in a crisis," Copps told *Maclean's*, "they will act."

While the political process hunches forward, scientists remain divided over how global warming will unfold. Already, there is clear evidence that some warming is occurring: average temperatures over the globe have increased by between 0.5°C and 1°C during the past century. But that could be the result of a natural climate fluctuation. And many scientists reject any suggestion that recent natural warming may have anything to do with human activity. In Western Europe and California, heavy winter temper-

atures, two scientists working in a widely different disciplines have come up with findings that may offer new evidence that climate change is occurring—and could suddenly accelerate. David Thomson, a Canadian statistical expert who works for Bell Laboratories in Murray Hill, N.J., has uncovered evidence that suggests that the timing of the seasons has been changing as carbon dioxide builds up in the atmosphere. After analyzing weather records from more than 250 points on the globe, Thomson discovered that winter has been among northern hemisphere, including most of North America—late in parts of Western Europe. Thomson, whose findings were published last month in the *Journal Science*, said that his conclusion "in an aspect of global warming that nobody had predicted—and you wonder how many other unexpected surprises may be waiting there."

Michael Rink, a McMaster University geologist and biologist, who studies coral reefs, has also found that many may have a dramatic change in the speed of global warm-

ing. Corals is formed by sequestering organisms that ring is made and leave their remains in skeletons. It is believed when they die, because the skeletons grow in annual bands, scientists can after detailed information about the climatic history of an ocean region. Three years ago, Rink and graduate student Julie Smith began analyzing coral taken from the peak of an underwater mountain about 100 miles north of Newfoundland. The coral showed that 12,000 years ago, the Gulf Stream, which carries warm water from the Caribbean to northern Europe, suddenly stopped.

The surprise, says Rink, was that the unexpected event occurred in a snapshot—within a period of between 10 and 20 years. "If you clear the Gulf Stream down, you would receive much of the Northern Hemisphere," says Rink, "and my guess is that we're seeing things up where this could happen again"—if, for example, the Greenland ice shelf melts and massive amounts of cold water poured down the Gulf Stream. "What we have here," adds Rink, "is a case in the past where an alteration in oceanographic conditions caused the climate to drastically reorganize itself in just a few years. We have to be aware that it could happen again."

Meanwhile, scientists are grappling with evidence that shows that, while the planet is experiencing an overall warming trend, parts of it—including eastern North America—may be getting cooler. The likely reason, enter dusts that form around sulphur particles from fossil fuel-burning power plants build up into clouds that reflect the sun's heat back into space. Now, computer models have shown that sulphur dioxide (SO₂) emissions may indeed be having a slight cooling effect—but not enough to significantly offset global warming. Moreover, notes Hansen, while SO₂ emissions are short-lived—they remain in the atmosphere for less than a week—carbon dioxide will stay up there for hundreds of years. "For that mass, problems created by greenhouse emissions cannot be as long after nations finish concerted efforts to cleanse the atmosphere."

One of the easiest ways of removing CO₂ from the atmosphere is by leaving trees and other vegetation cut. But logging operations are rapidly erasing the world's forests. To protect that destruction, environmentalists in Vancouver will mark Earth Day by unveiling an eight-mile tree-trunk section that logs out of from a giant yellow roller estimated to be 1,800 years old. The point of the exhibit, says Paul Geoghegan, director of the Western Canada Wilderness Committee, is to remind people that the destruction of old-growth forests is continuing, and that we need to look after the planet much better than we have—"a thought experiment might be in order as they embark on the next round of deliberations on greenhouse gas emissions."

MARK NICHOLS

When the snow turns treacherous

Canada endures one of its deadliest avalanche seasons

Rush-country skiers, skiers, probes and loss of luck

Perseus did not see the fracture that rippled across the granite powder as he was sliding down Bow Summit in the Rocky Mountains west of Calgary last month. What he did see, moments later, was the two-meter-deep mass of snow beneath him toppling into millions of pieces—it seemed to form a funnel and suck him down. He remembers trying to "twist" and then going over a cliff. "I was travelling huge enough to dread the moment of impact," says Geros. "And I was afraid all the snow would pile on top of me and I would never see daylight again." But in one of the deadliest avalanches in modern Canadian history, Geros was exceptionally fortunate. Although the avalanche swept him down 1,000 metres at mountain, the Geysered for her teacher who now works the front desk at an alpine centre in Lake Louise, Alta., was spared only a fractured pelvis. And he landed close enough to the margin to dig himself out of the suffocating snow. Geros and a companion were eventually airlifted to safety. "The way I see it, the snow deposited us as gently as it could considering the force of the avalanche," says Geros. "I was very lucky."

Many others were not. Fifteen people have been killed in avalanches across Canada this year—the highest number in more than two

decades—and the avalanche season has about another month to go. Some experts attribute the high toll in the volatile west—a series of cold spells that left behind loose, unstable layers of snow followed by milder weather and layers of stronger, well-bonded snow. "It's kind of like building a house on a bad foundation," says Chris Johnston, public safety specialist for four national parks in southwestern Alberta and southwestern British Columbia. "The people out recreating only feel the stuff on top—they can't appreciate the fact that those weak layers are down there lying."

There are also more deaths this year than ever before. But in the Indian (the most notorious) region, about a decade ago, snowmobilers were not even found in the fat gear zones—only recent technical innovations have made them light or powerful enough to think steep slopes. Meanwhile, although statistics on backcountry skiers are scarce, one area that has a mandatory sign-in program, Jasper Pass in British Columbia's Selkirk Mountains, has seen the number of day trippers more than double in the past five years, to about 5,000 a year. "I used to be a weak, exclusive group, limited to guides and enthusiasts," says David Stoenberg, a Parks Canada inquiry manager at Rogers Pass. "But the numbers at ski resorts have exploded, and the reason we

have more incidents now is simply a case of putting more people in potentially dangerous situations." In fact, last backcountry skiers and two mountain climbers have been killed this year. And two trekkers were killed while sliding down a slope in garbage bags. All but two of the 15 fatalities occurred in British Columbia and Alberta, the exceptions, a father and son, were killed in their sleep last month in northwestern Quebec, where an avalanche took their lives.

What avalanche experts call "isolated" accidents—in huts, on logging trails, near ski resorts—accounted for nearly 60 per cent of the deaths in decades past. Now, active avalanche-control programs help prevent most such accidents. One of the oldest and largest programs is in Rogers Pass, a narrow 40-kilometre stretch of rail and Trans-Canada Highway that crosses 134 regular avalanche paths. Stoenberg says that on an estimated 200 people died in avalanches at ski resorts on the railway alone at the peak in 1985. But his group of 31 experts now monitor the area, cutting the railway to trigger potential avalanches with a 150-ton heater before they can accumulate too much snow—and while there is no traffic on the road. They have also built barriers to protect snow strikers of rest, and guides to divert snow paths. Only two Parks skiers have been killed since the program was inaugurated in 1959.

The back country, of course, is too vast for such efforts. But experts monitor the danger levels in well-travelled areas near the pass and put out advisories. Stoenberg tells skiers to check avalanche reports and to carry emergency equipment, including a avalanche probe to find the snow for buried companions, a shovel to dig them out and avalanche beacons that broadcast a beeper's location. Skiers, he says, should also take courses to learn how to assess terrain—a bare slope, for example, is more likely to have bad weather than one that is heavily forested. And skiers should listen to dig into the snow to look for weak layers.

According to Alan Dennis, manager of the Canadian Avalanche Centre in Revelstoke, B.C., it is unfair to follow precautions can be difficult in certain decades this year. But whether there's more snow, there's more wind or snow gets caught in a difficult to calculate. "With avalanches, there is an element of luck, and maybe this year the luck ran out," says Dennis. "We hope it's an anomaly."

Geros was prepared and experienced—his group dug a snow pit and tested it. But they were confident the snow was strong. Prejudgement, he says, actually helped save one of his three companions—but was wrong in avalanche because that helped her two friends locate her. And when the avalanche hit, she was "frozen," "frenzied," she says, but not out of sliding back powder in the mountains. "Teaching the back country is an 'imposed experience,'" he says. "As anywhere else, staff happen, and people should respect the environment. But I don't think they should be paranoid."

MARY NICHOLS at Rogers Pass

LIFE

The billiard boom

Pool has gone respectable—and women take the cue

Just a couple of decades ago, Donna Sanges's inexact posture would have been the epitome of rused cynicism and disappointment. Three today, the 35-year-old Willowdale, Ont. housewife says, "some people think it's kind of shocking." But none of that stops her from indulging in her newfound pleasure: the sweet science of billiards.

Sanges played pool as a kid—her parents had a table in the basement—but her adult career really began three years ago, when she read about a new billiard league and signed up. "I got put on a very interesting team—with some better women," she laughs. Still, Sanges stuck with it—and since then, the league has grown from 180 teams to about 250, with more than 2,000 players. "It's an admirable sport," she says. "You can go have a beer and have a lot of fun with friends. And it's a stress-reducer."

Game on the days of Pat Edna Wilson, the no-good backslider portrayed by Paul Newman in the 1961 film *See How They Run* and if he were around today, the Manic Man who warned of "trouble in River City" in the 1957 musical would probably be taking a different cue. Instead of pool, Billiards is now a sport of moral opportunity and dirt-watching about women's pool has become downright respectable in the 1990s. Now, rather than a way to make eye money or to display intelligence-charged competitiveness, billiards is a social event—open to men and women. According to the Billiard Council of America in Iowa City, Iowa, billiards is now the third most popular recreational sport in North America—just behind bowling and basketball. "You can sit down, relax, have a beer and a little to eat," says Cheryl Larson, manager of Yankee Doodle's, a Calgary sports bar and billiards hall. And while she's at it, she adds, "you don't have to change your shoes."

To be precise, billiards is the generic name for any table game played with cue and ball. The most popular manifestation of the game, which originated in France during the mid-16th century, is pool, which has many names—and attractions. In Canada, the dominant game has long been snooker, an intricate test of strategy created in India in the

19th century by British military recruits stationed in Scotland. By contrast, it is an American game played on a smaller table with larger balls and balls. In bars and billiards halls across Canada, striped balls—played on the smaller American table, where one player is free to hit each striped ball, the other solely in replicating snooker as the game of choice. "People are playing the American pocket billiard games because they're easier," says Rick Williams, general manager of the Academy of Snooker Arts Inc., an upscale Toronto billiards school and restaurant. "For many people, it's a great way to get started. But in the end, pool, right ball is snooker, that's checkers is checkers."

One of the reasons for billiards' popularity, Williams adds, is the relaxation of liquor laws in the past few years. "It used to be that the best you could do was get a pop and a beer at the bar," he says. "Now, if you're in Ontario, they thought that if somebody had a

cut in their hands and was drinking, they were going to get up and break it or somebody's head." Larson says that the game has taken on a "more upscale, bar-oriented atmosphere." Williams felt comfortable in those surroundings.

Many women are also doing serious about the sport. On a recent Wednesday, Sanges and fellow players Lynn Lee Thompson and Debbie Nusske drove the 180 km from Edmonton to Calgary for a pool course; they heard they could get a better deal at home—and then stopped in at Yankee Doodle for a friendly match. "I won't say I started playing again," says Thompson, 40, a stay-at-home mother of two. "I was at my grandfather's house as a teen. They called them billiards balls, and you ran to go to most of them and feel comfortable." At Hill-top's Q Billiards Club, which for almost

50 years has accepted a wing of the Montreal Hall of Fame, manager Brad Steiner also notes the change in clientele. "At one time, you would rarely see a woman here," he says. "But if you came in now on a Friday or Saturday night, possibly half the people at the place are ladies." Pool has also become a dining game. "A lot of people play in the game when they go out, and the dance crowd comes," explains Doug Simmons, Calgary-based vice-president of the amateur Players League of Canada. "And women love the sport, which attracts the men."

For other participants in billiards' renaissance, however, the attraction lies in the game itself. At the Academy of Snooker Arts, Allen Kanner, a retired Toronto advertising executive, recalls the time 30 years ago when he lost \$15 to a shark at Shorn's pool hall in his home town of Denver. After that, his love of the game grew. But three years ago, old friends gave him a custom cue for his 58th birthday cue—"and I said, 'Go, go, go.' I remember that." Cue in hand, he began frequenting the Academy, and now he plays three or four times a week. "It can be a significantly pleasant game," says Kanner. "It's a great way to get into the mind of the resident club champion—a young man in jacket and tie—a skillfully remembering balls into pockets." He beats me out one of 10 times, Kanner whispers. "When I was in a game, it's truly a lifetime thing."

JOE CHELSEA with MARY MORTON in Calgary



At Calgary's Yankee Doodle, reduced liquor laws and an upscale atmosphere

THE MOST
CONTROVERSIAL
BOOK OF 1995

THE STRANGE CASE OF
CHRISTINE LAMONT
AND DAVID SPENCER



"Secret is at her state's best" - *Seattle Star*

Revealing journalists from *The Globe and Mail's* Latin America Bureau Chief Isabel Vincent, that explores a young couple's struggle and newly discovered Mexican criminality. Follow the adventures of missionary work, clandestine gains and forged documents, and the cynical maneuvering of Canadian diplomacy.

Isabel Vincent has been *The Globe and Mail's* Latin America Bureau Chief for the last four years. She has been awarded an honor from the American Press Association for her reporting from the region.

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Canada's Keith Fenton, Bartley, Rob Meakin: "we're all favorites"

SPORTS

The new stone age

Curlers of the world come to Brandon

There are no lightning or beach-clearing brews, no victory fireworks, no need to speak of, or towering legends of the game. The players are not noticeably athletic and, while they can make thousands of dollars as prize and endorsement, they are a long way from the huge paydays of pro sports. If they are rich, they got that way by selling cars, practicing law or building houses—not by leaving a 44½ stone (about a 40-ton rock in hopes of lifting a half-ton) at the other end, which is the essence of all sport at curling. Last week, men's and women's teams from 18 countries gathered for the World Curling Championships in the Manitoba university city of Brandon, already in a party mood following the Winter Games victory in the Western Hockey League's eastern semifinal that far for the curlers, the community had support to spare—the 5,000-seat Koyote Centre was jammed, further evidence that while hockey is Canada's most popular ice sport, curling—

driven by the fantasies of 1.5 million addicts—is growing fast. "I've been to 13 world championships," said spectator Dorothy Waters, "and, by far, this one is the best yet." For Canadian fans, the event became even better when both the country's entries made it to the finals. The women's team, skipped by Connie Kohonen, lost to Sweden in the gold medal game; the men's, skipped by Kerry Bartley, was preparing to play on Sunday. And for the game itself, which traces its roots to 16th-century Scotland, the prospects have never been brighter. The International Olympic Committee has voted to make curling a medal sport, beginning at the 1998 Winter Games in Nagano, Japan. And Bruce Tonnies, the administrative vice-president for the world championships next March in Hamilton, said Olympic acceptance is already drawing more children into the game. "The best that curling has been given medal status," Tonnies said, "means that young people feel there's still an opportunity for them

to get into the Olympics, even if they don't figure inside to play hockey." While curling has long prospered in Scotland, Canada and the northern United States, its supporters elsewhere have found an uphill struggle. "In Switzerland, the media always says curling is a second-class sport," said Jerry Hase, a commentator for Olympic media who will also be chairman of the organizing committee for the world championships in Berne in 1997. And achieving Olympic status, added Hase, may not help all that much. "Some people have told me there are also second-class Olympic sports," he said. "That attitude is shared by many Norwegians whose winter sports positions are far more physical pursuits, such as cross-country and downhill skiing. Dorth Nordby, skip of the Norwegian curling team, said she had been frustrated by public indifference to the game, which Olympic acceptance should help to diminish. "It will change in Norway and in the whole of Europe, and there are countries that don't play at all but will have a look at it," she said. "In Norway, if a sport becomes an Olympic sport, they'll try it." There is nothing tentative, however, in the reaction of Canadians to a sport once played with melted-down cannon balls on the frozen St. Lawrence by Scottish troops outside Quebec City. By the weekend, thousands of fans had thronged into Brandon. Merchants set up signs reading "Go Canada Go" and "Good luck, Kerry and Connie." The province's beer purveyors to sell drinks on Good Friday and Easter Sunday, a consensus about



Waters: the best of 13 championships

unheard of in the conservative region around Brandon. In the huge Country Rock Saloon, a bank of TVs kept games abreast of the action. One woman wore a large Canadian flag her male companion had a maple leaf painted on his face. When they were not on the ice, Bartley and his crew played with a computerized pool game. "We're all big sports fans," said the 56-year-old Bartley, a Winnipeg investment counselor. "Last weekend, we watched the Masters and now we're checking out hockey scores." Added teammate Jeff Ryan, "We never practice. It doesn't do me any good because I get bored really quick." The women's team appeared equally at ease. Janet Annet, who played with Labrador when they won the world title in 1986, said that during a game with Norway members of both teams "were laughing about a couple of things—you're not in wit but you want to keep the knowledge." Not everyone was in the party mood. And the controversial display, four Rantons set up a booth and said the money they made selling trinkets would go towards building the country's first curling rink. Two Japanese observers said that because of its teamwork, strategy and technique, interest in curling was growing in Japan. "And after the game," said Nelson Kishikawa, 47, "you go drink!"

RAE COBELLI with DONALD GEMMELSKY in Brandon

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NEWFOUNDLAND
& LABRADOR



ART

Asian treasures

From Genghis Khan's gold to recent paintings, Eastern art is all the rage in British Columbia

Here they are as strong as great silver and steel silent in silence, trapping their lives

The latest of a post colonialist sent in tribute to serve in the ancient court of the Mongols resonates across the centuries. What history records of the stoic, rugged warriors of central Asia is almost uniformly bloody. For 3,000 years, until the 13th century AD, Mongol horsemanship rode relentlessly out of the treacherous steppes that stretch south to the Gobi and south of Siberia, into the subcontinents of the Transoxiana and Chinese. In vain attempts to contain the restless warriors, the Chinese built a succession of Great Walls. And among the many terrors that beset the darkness of medieval Europe, none was more feared than the "Empire of Empires" from the steppes. Genghis Khan (1162-1227). Practising a straightforward style of warfare—he gave his subjects of cities in his path the choice of an unconditional surrender or annihilation—Genghis led his army across an empire that stretched from the Chui Sea to Austria.

But if the Mongol bloodthirsty reputation was fully earned, it is also easily overdone. A robust appreciation of Mongol achievements awaits the estimated 650,000 visitors who are expected to pass through Empires Beyond the Great Wall: The Heritage of Genghis Khan, over the next six months. The most spectacular collection of artefacts to come to Canada since the treasures of Tutankhamun toured North America from 1976 to 1979, the exhibit of more than 300 archaeological

artefacts is on display in the Royal British Columbia Museum in Victoria until Sept. 30. Tracing 3,500 years of Mongol history, its story comes into the conquest of China by Genghis's grandson Kublai Khan in 1279. Included in the tour, which is valued for its numerous purposes at \$950 million, are hunting, solid gold headstuds and lacquer ornaments, ceramics and scholars' tools that bespeak a culture of wealth and sophistication as well as power.

The Empires installation is one of five exhibits with Asian themes, including gallery and screenings in British Columbia over the next several weeks. Until May 30, the Vancouver Art Gallery is presenting New Art From China, a collection of 87 contemporary artworks by artists from the People's Republic created in the long shadow of the Tiananmen Square. That show is accompanied by a smaller exhibit, called Here Not, then and running until June 11, which brings together 32 pieces by five artists originally from China, who now made in or near Vancouver. A block down the street at the Canadian Craft Museum, a very different sensibility prevails in another featured set of exhibits with a Canadian focus, due on until June 11. The Rhythms of the Brush and The Story of Chinese Silks explore the twisted and relaxed worlds of oriental calligraphy and engraved signature seals through more than 100 varied examples of both forms, many of them created especially for the exhibit by Canadian artists.

Neither set of exhibits, however, can hope to rival the impact or significance of the extraordinary collection of artefacts that is on show in

Victoria. Empires, which is taking an only Canadian stop before returning to China after appearances in three U.S. cities, took three years to bring from reluctant Chinese authorities, who had never before permitted so many artefacts of such high quality to leave the People's Republic. "In terms of the quality and the quantity, it is unprecedented," declares Helen Kessler, the Los Angeles-based archaeologist who curated 18 treasures in the lower Magdalena Autonomas Region into contemporary artists.

Like Treasures that through a time machine, the collection of pottery, weapons, tools and ornaments affords a rare window into

life in the distant past. Over 3,000 years, the finely wrought items based on the premise of a Yuan bronze dagger has lost none of its proud bearing. A chivalrous functional bronze helmet of the same era is testimony to man's early genius for the tools of war. But later artefacts trace scholarship and culture as well. And wealth, as intricately decorated, panel of ivory, carved with a more than a foot across, once culminated the upper class domains of the young Mongol nobles whose saddle it decorated. "Most people don't realize," observes Kessler, "that Genghis Khan's conquests were at the end of a very long period of culture and empire-building."



Taking a Picture in Front of Tiananmen Square, Tao's Tao's Mao Zedong (H. behind) suffered with a sense of oppression and rebellion that haunted many images in the collection

Fast-forwarding across seven centuries, New Art finds some of China's most provocative artists wrestling with meaning in a post-modern and post-Maoist society. A frequent theme: the collision of Western consumer culture with the distressed ideology at the distressed regime that now holds power in Kublai Khan's former capital. Feng Mengbo makes the point in a striking piece of political art, Tao's Tao's Mao Zedong (H. behind) in 1993, which places the former Great Leader in what looks like a well-worn Mao Tse-tung portrait. Wang Jing's Talking a Picture in Front of Tiananmen Square (all an image, 1993), in a style called "typical realism" by the artists, is infused with a sense of oppression and isolation that haunts many images in the collection.

The works showcased in Here Not There, by the former members of the mainland Chinese artistic community who now make their

homes in the Vancouver area, are markedly more serene. Still, as the most elaborate undertaking, a two-day installation called Here, There, Elsewhere—composed of hand prints, constructions and large hand-drawn images of daily life in Canada—Shen Sheng (H. 95) confronts the pain as well as the promise of adjusting to a new country. In the People's Republic, Shen reflects in one of several panels of text, "Everything is political if you try to be different." That again in Canada is not without its price as well, as he observes in another panel, "I was a teacher at a university in China but I became a barber at a university in Canada. I learned to accept myself in a different way."

A block north on Broadway, the artist, chapel-like space of the three-year-old Canadian Craft Museum offers a sympathetic setting for the more contemplative pleasures of oriental calligraphy. Two years in the assembly, the collection offers examples of both Chinese and Japanese-style calligraphy, the former represented by several styles of script, the latter distinguished by elaborate inscriptions and lacquer. Handmade papers. A separate section of the collection explores the variety of personal and literary seals that are used in Chinese to imprint a signature or stamp onto letters, legal documents or works of calligraphy in brilliant and long-lasting red ink.

Two small brass seals among the collection on display in Vancouver are near-duplicates of a pair in use by Mongol emperors more than 1,000 years ago, and now on show in Victoria. But if the calligraphy in the Craft Museum collection is properly trained in form, it is not that distinctly Canadian style. Of the 13 artists working as classical Chinese style in the exhibit are in fact Canadian. Several of their seals, moreover, are original line poems on Canadian themes. So goes poet Yan Tan. "This is not Chinese-Canadian culture. We are Canadians," he adds. "This represents part of the greater Canadian culture." And so, the great Genghis Khan's legacy finds new and happier contexts, seven centuries after his death, in Canada.

CHUCK WOOD is in Victoria

Hi-tech art that talks back

BY SHARON DOYLE DREIDGER

Portraits by Montreal artist Luc Corbeil are not hung quietly on a gallery wall. They chat and occasionally argue with each other. They talk to viewers and, if they like someone, will share their feelings and perhaps even confide a secret. But they become mostly, simply engaged in the dialogue. Corbeil creates this chatting fusion of art with assistance in his interactive work, *Family Portrait*, displayed with a *Virtual Society*. The artist's "virtual beings," who respond to the click of a mouse,

This timely show focuses on artists' fascination with cyberspace as well as their skepticism about an increasingly wired world. A strong undercurrent of technology has flowed through the art world for more than a decade with the proliferation of microcomputers. "Then, in '94, there was an explosion as the Internet brought everybody together," says Derrick de Kerckhove, director of the McLuhan Program at the University of Toronto. "Now, art and technology is literally taking off." An army of new computer technologies is transforming culture, as musicians perform "live" on the Internet, musicians offer tours

that occupy almost cyberspace and individual identity is one of the main themes of Press Enter. And, according to Louise Desjardins, chief curator of the exhibit, most of the artworks are interactive, so people can experience them "in a real, visual way." Some deal with issues of privacy, notably American Jim Campbell's *Unlabeled (the Headless)*, in which, through an imaginary use of computers and video, the viewer's image pops up in bed with a naked couple. Others, such as German artist Christa Müller's *Electronic Mirror*, which uses postcards to create a viewer's reflection, illustrate a lack of control over technology.

It was the potential for interaction that first attracted 34-year-old David Rokeby to the electronic medium. "I wanted to repair the rip that had appeared between the audience and contemporary art," explains Rokeby, originally from Tillamook, Ore. Behind him, in a corner of his studio in the heart of Toronto's Chinatown, two color-splashed canvases lean casually on a bookcase. They were art school projects, painted before Rokeby switched to an experimental program. Since then, Rokeby, who was recently featured in *Wired*, the U.S. magazine about hi-tech culture, has immersed himself in computers, or



The Silence of the Body: Rokeby (below), artistic inquiries about the ways that technology disembodies us, but also offers us to create a new self.



pair at eyes. The adjacent wall features a huge ear. On the floor beneath them is a mouth. Each organ is enhanced, literally and metaphorically, by electronic technology, and represented in computer-generated images. Taken together, the three elements suggest a face. But they are physically fragmented, not quite human. "Technology disembodies us," suggests Rokeby, "but it also allows us to create a new self."

While Rokeby focuses on the future, Alberta artist George Borge Miller looks at how existing technologies, like television, affect personal communications. And, indeed, his work space over the old Washburn's in downtown Lethbridge looks more like a TV repair shop than an artist's studio. Miller is convinced that the artists he signs out of his own studios and galleries "can harness technologies that aren't very human." He adds, "Man, there's all this stuff happening with computers and TV and we don't think much about it."

One of his pieces, *Communications Interference*, shown in Press Enter, provides what he describes as a "black and white" look at the fiction of television. The installation is simple and spare. A wooden office chair sits in front of a black TV screen. Off to the side, a surveillance camera focuses on the chair. But that chair, unlike a painting or a sculpture, is incomplete without a viewer. Only when a viewer accepts the posted invitation to "Please sit down," does the actor appear on the screen. In a tone that ranges from suggestive to threatening, he draws in the viewer, whose own image appears on the screen—but with out sound. "You remind me of your lover," Miller mutters. "You know all my conversations with you are recorded." The viewer becomes the viewed, and the experience is, at once, amusing and unsettling. "I wanted to make the viewer physically aware of how TV leaves us isolated," says Miller. "A painting would not have the same emotional impact."

But it isn't "These are people who will not do this, first it is a valid medium," says Rokeby. "But then there are people who still don't think photography is a valid medium." Gagnon, de Kerckhove and other experts say that resistance to electronic media is rapidly disappearing as the art form gains critical legitimacy. Still, few private galleries display the works, which often fill entire rooms, and even fewer collectors purchase them. "Most buyers for that kind of work are museums," says Gagnon. Part of the problem lies in the technology itself. Equipment can be difficult to operate, sometimes breaks down and quickly becomes obsolete. "It's a very expensive medium for collectors and artists," says Corbeil. He, and others, survive through grants, teaching jobs and their determination. "Electronic art is particularly artists' rights' issue," says Rokeby. "Later it is said, we are surrounded by technology and we need to understand how it transforms the way we experience the world." As long as there is a cyberspace, artists will be exploring it with cybernet. □



In a bold new show artists express joys and fears about cyberspace



Shimon Rosenthal: Corbeil (right) 'talking art' that opens up with people.

are mutually labile. They appear suspended in space, as if emerging from the computer, video monitors and laser discs that generate them. But electronic wizardry is not the point of *Family Portrait*, says Corbeil, whose work has been exhibited at the National Gallery in Ottawa and New York City's Museum of Modern Art. "For me as an artist," he says "I try to do crazy things—like turn technology into experience."

Corbeil, 36, is one of an Canadian artists represented in Press Enter. Between Selection and Unlabeled, an international exhibit on art and technology that opens this week at Toronto's Power Plant gallery, start of the beleaguered Harbourfront cultural centre

via modern and virtual reality plays on the stage. "Technology is evolving our traditional notions of art," says Mark Jones, publisher of *CyberAge*, a new Canadian quarterly devoted to art and technology. "It's also creating new forms of art on its own."

Artists are applying their new electronic palette in surprising ways. They are stretching the use of these technologies, says Jose Gagnon, associate curator of media art at the National Gallery. "They can be playful and ironic and give a humorous twist to them." They are also addressing serious issues. De Kerckhove theorizes that artists represent the collective consciousness of a society, and "there is a great deal of fear of computers out there."

cult boards and cables—the tools of his chosen medium. Now, there are signs that he has realized his art school dream of "talking art that connects with people." Acclaimed internationally, Rokeby has participated in the prestigious Venice Biennale. And at an exhibit in Hamburg in 1993, visitors lined up for hours to use his latest work.

Shimon Rosenthal Corbeil, the art that drew crowds in Europe, also appears in Press Enter. In his installation, Rokeby's "rooms" is a bed at end enclosed by a narrow hallway, or the floor of a darkened room. Sounds and images of flowing water, blowing winds, fire and shadows are projected onto the bed in ever-changing patterns. The effect is compelling and one that allows Rokeby to play with new perceptions of art and of those who behold it. If visitors, for instance, dip their hands into the circulating liquid "pools of water," they will feel dry sand. That is, if they don't touch it. "There is no better secret people's best," says Rokeby. "The question is, 'what is the art here?'" Shimon Rosenthal Corbeil presents an explicit challenge for viewers to literally cross the line into the sand—and into the

artist's domain. "An interactive work creates a radically different situation for an audience," says Rokeby. "There are no rules."

The medium presents challenges for artists as well as audiences. Sylvie Bélanger can sell some of her cherished antiqua to fund her multimedia electronic art projects. The prize artist with an international reputation works on a grand scale. Some of her latest installations traversed rooftops and covered towering church walls. But Bélanger, born near Montreal, has kept enough peace-makers and holdier back chairs to lend a distinctly Quebecois flavor to her studio hours in a converted factory in Toronto's west end. After 10 years in the city, the 44-year-old artist has also retained her French Canadian sensibilities. "As a Quebecer," says Bélanger, "the question of identity has been part of my upbringing." Now, the artist is exploring the issue in the context of technology and how it is affecting human identity—the theme of *The Silence of the Body*, her complex installation in Press Enter. There are three parts to Bélanger's interactive photo-video artwork. One wall has a dramatic, backlit mural of a



Caruso (left). Cagney is sensitive, our chief gets punished for his excess of compassion

FILMS

New York nightmares

Both movies are gritty dramas about sympathetic outlaws in the mean streets of New York City—two cops who become heroes who become great mystery over finally respectable, two have a nightmare tale trying to get back home. And both films feature hot actors with cool managers who have recently paragonized their careers: Caruso (who's David Caruso has his brother's tangled-to-bus-serve dinner movie in *Run of Death*), and Oscar winner Leonardo DiCaprio (who's *Shutter* Gilbert Grape's) tackles an understated role in *The Blue Angel* drama, a portrait of the serial as a young man.

Run of Death is Caruso's first movie since abandoning his role as John Kelly in *1975 Blue* to pursue a film career. He plays a crack snitch of a cop, a cop thief named Jimmy, but the role is very close to Caruso's old best. Like his 1970 character, Jimmy is a sensitive, soft spoken man, a nice guy trapped in the system who gets punished for his sense of compassion. Loosely inspired by the 1947 film noir of the same name, *Run of Death* is a violent thriller set in the present that rehabilitates some tired gangland clichés—the aging mafia godfather, his associate heir, the goodie suspense cop who tries to serve as their chameleon. Like the original, the movie is filled entirely on location, and from the opening scene shot—nudging an automobile parked in the shade

of Silver Stadium—it maintains a compelling sense of authenticity. The script, by cerebral Richard Price, is accented with intriguing details about the earlier industry. And David Schneider (*Universal of Force*, *Single White Female*) directs with clear-eyed, cool-headed efficiency—and his usual, subconscious note.

The story's twist is utterly contemporary: a criminal in recovery. Jimmy is on the verge of going straight for the sake of his wife (Helen Hunt) and young daughter. When he's home alone with his child, he gets a knock on the door from a desperate convict (Michael Rapaport), who begs him to do one last job. Jimmy calls the baby-sitter (this is a film for the '90s) and up and he's back to work. But he gets pulled in a shootout, ends up in jail and is forced to become a police informer by a cop (Samuel L. Jackson) who was wounded in the crusade.

The villains of the piece in *Run of Death*, a subtle temptation played by a formerly one-up cop, Nicolas Cage—*Fearless*. Going in a *three* *minutes* *later* *the* *key* *to* *such* *disaster*, and *Little* *Jimmy's* *own* *indecisive* *discovery* *as* *an* *outlaw* *inhabitant* *of* *a* *shady* *of* *having* *meal* *in* *his* *mouth*, *even* *cutting*.

Cage's contained society act provides the movie's best mystery. Caruso, meanwhile, is solid. But his character is just a return of the self-liking, victim Kelly in *1975 Blue*. And while *Run of Death* offers a good, low ride, it is this a stolen car that has gone through a chop chop—*formula* product that has been stripped down, reassembled and sent out with a fresh coat of paint.

The Basketball Diaries is based on a true story, the 1978 teenage memoir of writer musician Jon Carroll, but strongly enough, the movie seems more synthetic than Schneider's fictional thriller. To begin with, American director Scott Robert judges the setting. Sometimes it seems to be taking place in the 1970s, which is when Carroll, then a basketball star at a Roman Catholic high school in Massachusetts, turned from attending to drinking smack. Since of the football, language and music in the movie, however, are as up-to-date as MTV. The other problem is the casting of Leonardo DiCaprio as the young Carroll. Although he is a gifted actor with a charismatic screen presence, it's hard to buy him as either a basketball star or a punk.

Making his feature debut, Robert directs with an eye for style that has background as a maker of music videos. His understated style works best in the first part of the film, as a philosophical portrait of a young man running in a gang and feeling miserable. When there are no drinking up to the basketball court, Carroll and his teammates are all subjects, not from their own looks and go off diving into the average-brain values of the Hudson River. Carroll, meanwhile, is a rolebook with scribbles of broad grin, writing that he looks like the same old student of arrogant youth. The way Carroll's camera shows these people over his own and his own, it looks like they could have shot a rap version of *Bad Side* story at any moment.

Carroll's hit from grace is less surprising. As his drug-taking, sports and of control, his head breaks are dashed and he sinks into a self-destructing heroin habit. The scold Carroll is, shows up for a silly career as a grade student, the seduction of alcohol and up to the drama of heroin. In the end, he's not only selfish, like a school class that goes on too long. It involves a lot of teasing and grunting—all while you wish that DiCaprio's character, like the mental defective he played in Gilbert Grape, would just shut up. A whiny, one-note performer from Lorne Greene, who plays Carroll's drinking mother, does not help. *The Basketball Diaries* ends on a note with high flying promises, but as the story runs out of control, it becomes just another recovery tale about an artist's season at hell.

THOMAS D. JOHNSON

THEATRE

Once upon a time...

Adult fairy tales make an enchanting musical

INTO THE WOODS

Music and lyrics by Stephen Sondheim
Directed by Bob Baker

Compared with the lumbering melodrama currently dominating the musical stage, *Into the Woods* has the musical grace of a gold medal boxer among mere boxers. New Yorker Stephen Sondheim handles his material with such a delicate light touch that it assembles into another ensemble together from such outrageous and utterly playing musicals as *The Phantom of the Opera* or *Tommy* into *Into the Woods* was three. *Three Wishes* in 1982, and its recent Canadian premiere in Toronto (the show moved to Calgary on June 19) should prove equally triumphant. Director Bob Baker and his Canadian Stage Company cast have served Sondheim brilliantly, presenting his



Gilpin, a comic Red Riding Hood

scarcely fair work from two princes (Gavin Ross and Dan Chazernoff) as a doct comparing their pain, and from a befuddled Little Red Riding Hood (Phyllis Gilpin). In another key, both Sondheim and Gilpin make the audience feel the emotional side of the story of the play and the story. With Leslie Franks's enchantingly colorful costumes and sets, this musical comes close to perfection.

JOHN REMBOISE

I rise at 7:00 AM in anticipation of breakfast in bed. Perhaps our chef's omelet today.

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good natural hunter between four men and a woman who have a passion for bridge. The afternoon pass

quickly and I find myself as tea with some players mere playing in the background. Tomorrow there will be

a cocktail party at the Williams' but this afternoon I will have a short nap before dinner. I hear there is rack

of lamb on the menu. My children think Glynnwood is

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BOOKS

Jamaica's lost soul

DISCOVERER OF HEARTS

By Olive Senior
(McClelland & Stewart, 232 pages, \$18.95)

She has lived abroad for the past seven years, but author Olive Senior continues to probe the relevance of nature's journey towards their cultural roots. Most of the stories in her first collection of short fiction, *Discoverer of Hearts*, explore the country's ties to its former colonial master—and its African heritage. The collection displays the same craftsmanship that garnered Senior's first anthology, *Summer Light*, a *Canadian Literature* Prize in 1987. And somewhere in the Toronto-based poet and fiction writer's attention to detail comes evidence from her subtle rendering of culture. In Jamaica, much as in England, fiction has traditionally signified place of birth, level of education, pedigree. But for Senior a class-conscious reader, a secret indicates something more: it reveals the cultural distance between the speaker and a discarded African legacy.

Senior's characters are frequently young women who feel caught between prevailing cultural values and a repressed African sensibility. They are not unlike the author herself, who was born in a village steeped in African culture but schooled by white reformers in an upper-class area. And several of the stories are fantasies that lost tradition. Theresa, the preadolescent protagonist in the title story, appears a model, assumes her own lonely. Only Cindy, the country-and-housekeeper, offers the child solace—and the fascination of voodoo spirituality. The housekeeper tells stories of the "Blackman" who will "cut out your heart" and bring about creative warping about training and spirit against her. Cindy promises additional physical and spiritual guidance from Father Barnabas, a healer whose Theresa's father, the local justice, dismisses as a fraud.

In "Big Rag," 19-year-old Sade also perceives herself as outcast. With an estranged family divided almost solely along color lines, Sade's darker skin and coarse hair threaten to diminish her social chances. "When blood gets mixed... you have to make sure the right blood wins out," says Aunt Man, whose face is "as pale as Easter-bunny water crackers." Like Theresa, Sade finds comfort in the lonely maid, Dorothea, a single mother with seven children, who angles Christianity with African practices.

Senior writes of characters endlessly concerned with their prospects, an attitude that keeps them in a perpetual motion. Country girls come to town, small-town females migrate to cities. Anyone with the requisite combination of money and ambition seeks a foreign education, and if lucky, settles abroad. Most of the emigrants are not motivated with dreams of foreign accomplishments and accomplishments in many stories those left behind. For the few who persevere to consider the possible mental costs of their limited pursuit of success. At least one story, however, implies that foreign worship can literally drive a person crazy. In "The Case Against the Queen,"



Senior, invoking the African past

a family's shift into returns from England eventually. And the narrator, the madman's son, recalls all the people she leaves who began acting like "mad men" after coming back from North America or Britain. Madness aside, Senior suggests that the education with foreign values largely disorients the need for traditional relevance. Says the novel: "Every day somebody would pass by on the road with something or other they had got from foreign... and one silly girl even tried to push her baby in a pram down the rocky road, and by her equally silly sister in Birmingham. It was worse when new things came in, sometimes sets (even before they had electricity, or indeed a television station)."

Senior narrowly avoids the cliché of depicting the socially disadvantaged as culturally superior. "I'm Thank I Mad Mine," a discarded woman's account of the customer's purchase of a dark, velvet, that poverty causes country girls to readily as "foreign." And if country girls like Dorothea prove closer to their African roots than their educated employers, that does not prevent them from expressing frustration for a fair-skinned child.

In many of the stories, the characters experience startling flashes of self-recognition. But such moments serve superficial. Senior's characters—especially her less-educated ones—reveal themselves more powerfully through dialogue. They often use language in a creative, even violent way. Says Miss Brindley, the central character in "The Chacha Voo": of the people who bought her all property. "They never come back once to even look at it, let it turn into wilderness, outside."

Most important in Senior's vision, speech helps maintain connections to ancient African beliefs, it regularly marks ownership and self-assertion. In *Discoverer of Hearts*, language works to reconcile elements of the past with the present. For Senior, language is itself a metaphor—even a ritual—showing how Jamaicans can embrace their heritage.

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BOOKS

Russian roulette

The grand master of spy fiction still dazzles

OUR GAME

By John Le Carré
(Vintage, 352 pages, \$29.95)

When John Le Carré travelled to the Soviet Union in the summer of 1953 to do research for his new spy thriller, *Our Game*, he tried unsuccessfully to arrange a visit to Leningrad, the Russian republic in the North Caucasus mountains that borders Chechnya. He had picked that volatile area of southern Russia as a setting because, as he wrote in a February article in *The New York Times Book Review*: "I wanted to say something rather bitter about the repression of small nations and about the unobtainable wars that politicians may safely ignore." Now, the irony and the prescience of Le Carré's choice becomes even clearer as the Russian conquest of Chechnya draws to a bloody close. And once again, Le Carré demonstrates—as he did with *The Rus-*

sian River (1959) and *The Night Manager* (2003)—that the post-Cold War era, far from ending his career as the grand master of spy fiction, continues to provide a rich vein of material.

Our Game mixes a concise history lesson with a love triangle and sets them against the fast-changing map of post-Communist Russia. British intelligence officer Tim Cranmer, 48, has been made redundant by the end of the Cold War. But Tim has Elena, a beautiful wife (the composer in her 20s with whom he plans to live out the rest of his days while sending the musician and singer) left to him by a rich, eccentric uncle. Meanwhile, Tim's pragmatic and slightly

younger friend, Larry Pritikin, whom he recruited, trained and ran for years as a double agent, clashes against cynical existence as a university professor, calling it his "leftover life." He still feels a Pyrrhic passion about the fate of the small Muslim nation suffering under Soviet rule, particularly Ingushetia. As the novel begins, Larry has disappeared—and so has £30 million from the Russian government. Larry, it appears, has made common cause with Khasanov.

Chechen, an Ingush Muslim who oversees domestic affairs within the KGB and became a diplomat spy abroad. Now, will he and Larry use the money for personal gain, or for the cause of the Ingush people? Tim wonders. What is more, Elena has disappeared, and Tim—who watched helplessly, formerly, as she and Larry fell in love—sets out to find the couple.

This smoky takes her to Paris, to a Moscow ocean by gamblers, and to the previously beautiful-Caucasian mountains. Suspenseful and full of realistic detail, *Our Game* makes this adventure plausible and compelling.

DAVID TURBIDE



Le Carré. Pyrrhic passion



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BOOKS

Innocents abroad?

Two jailed Canadians probably were kidnappers

SEE NO EVIL

By Daniel Vincent
Orbit Books Canada, 272 pages, \$19.95

WRONG TIME, WRONG PLACE

By Caroline Meliss
(Key Porter Books, 304 pages, \$27.95)

I was an image so accepted that the Canadian public seemed unshockingly to reject it. The news photograph from Brazil in December, 1988, showed a pair of suspects at police custody following the spectacular kidnapping of a wealthy São Paulo businessman. What stunned Canadians were the identities of the newly detained pair, arrested along with eight other members of a killing gang: 30-year-old Christine Lamont of Langley, B.C., and David Spencer, 36, a Montreal native. The Canadians were, like the other kidnappers, convicted, and they were sentenced to 30-year prison terms. Their plight set in motion a stubborn effort by family members, supporters and the Canadian government to get them out of Brazilian prison and back home. So far, those efforts have failed. Now, two books by journalists who covered the story argue that the Canadians deserved to be kept in the prison for a long time, even sending them to Brazil to live the lives of the convicted, since the kidnapping was a terrorist act, and Spencer was in all probability, guilty of

the crimes of which they were convicted. The accounts by Daniel Vincent, a Rio de Janeiro-based correspondent for the Toronto Globe and Mail, and Caroline Meliss, a journalist who covered the story for The Toronto Star, travel over much the same ground—and make similar judgments. Both conclude that Lamont and Spencer were most likely dedicated revolutionaries who played active roles in the kidnapping of rich magnate André Dineen. Dineen was freed after police traced the kidnappers to the house where they were hiding him—a house rented by Lamont and Spencer. The authors reject as implausible the couple's claim that they were unaware of Dineen's presence. And they are critical of the publicity machine organized by Lamont's parents, Marilyn and Keith Lamont, which succeeded in persuading many journalists, but a public in Brazil, at the couple's expense. Lamont and Spencer were portrayed, writes Vincent, as "pathetic victims of some corrupt business-justice system."



Lamont, Spencer (above): dedicated revolutionaries

Both authors depict Lamont and Spencer as revolutionaries, part of a branch of a small, radical, left-wing group, the Communist Party of Canada, who were active in the 1970s. They worked as volunteers at an alternative radio station in the city and flirted with revolutionary politics. Soon, the pair were committed supporters of leftist rhetoric in the latter half of their lives in the Communist American nation of El Salvador, and had



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BOOKS

started to forge links with Latin American revolutionaries. By early 1989, they were ready to make a deeper commitment: armed with false passports, they headed for the Nicaraguan capital of Managua, then a haven for international terrorists under Nicaragua's Marxist Sandinista government.

Were Lamoont and Spencer—who spoke fluently Spanish, really working as translators for a Salvadoran news service during their assignment in Managua? Though neither can prove it, both reporters suspect that the two men were really in training as terrorists. Their ultimate mission: to raise money for left-wing causes by kidnapping rich Nicaraguans and holding them for ransom.

The couple left for Brazil in June, 1980, and by the end of the year were lodged in Brazilian jails. Their period in Managua would come back to haunt them four years later. An explosion in a Managua garage had here a secret cache of guerrilla arms—as well as documents that included the Canadian couple's original passports and some of their identification. Also found in the bunker: a list of potential kidnapping victims that included Diana's name.

The two polls reveal the surprising extent to which Canadian attitudes in Ottawa and beyond strive to ensure that Lemson and Sparrow received preferential treatment in prison. And despite the bad line taken in public by then-Interior Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall—who refused to request extradition of the Canadians under a treaty that she said was "offensive, outdated and inequitable" behind the scenes—she was outmaneuvered by another treaty. That campaign blossomed dramatically in 1993 when the *Blacklist* press learned of a Canadian lobby group effort to persuade European politicians to back a prisoner-exchange treaty. Under the treaty, the unrepentant couple could have returned to Canada to serve shorter sentences. In the face of outraged Seneca public opinion, the Canadian officials have so far backed down the treaty.

Although both books lack literary polish and read at times like extended newspaper articles, they tell a gripping tale. Of the two, Mallin brings to her work a superior understanding of international relations and a wealth of information on the detailed actions of the RCMP and the Canadian Mounted Police and Spencer acquires as full-fledged members of the Indian gang. By contrast, Vincent frequently is more concerned with burning those Canadians who mounted the Brazilian peace system to be hideously corrupt and Lumsden and Spencer therefore somewhat less convincing. The book is not perfect, but it is just how racist and xenophobic Canadians can be." Despite the bitterness engendered by the affair, Mallin suggests that Penzill probably would be glad to get rid of Lumsden and Spencer. Somewhat, she suggests, Brian's president will surely sign the bill, but she is not sure that the bill will end the eastern Canadian issue.

BOOKS

Into the woods

How culture shapes perception of the natural world

LANDSCAPE AND MEMORY

By Simon Schama
(Random House, \$12.95, 241 pp.)

A many environmentalists, mankind's relationship with the natural world has been one long, brutal march of exploitation. In the view of biologists, the only sustainable humans are those peoples who (so the authors guess) live in respectful harmony with nature. Simon Schama takes exception to this rather unpleasant position in his book *Landscape and Memory*. At length, he eloquently articulated account of civilization's complicated tangle with the wild. Schama, an English historian currently teaching at Columbia University, is a New York City specialist in mid-angle deeper channels; his story accessible to the public, most notably in his best-seller 1993 book, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*. *Landscape and Memory* isn't easily his most accessible book yet, since its scope includes just about anything in world cultural history in author considers relevant, from

Magritte's *La Condition humaine*: artists in search of beauty

much in civilization's relations with nature as
"a cause not for sorrow but celebration."

This attitude wonderfully optimistic, and anyone tired of the guilt and sorrow suggested by the condition of the planet may well find respite in Schenck's narrative. But what, exactly, is he celebrating? For the most part, his book is the story of how humans have turned nature into an aesthetic object—snatching beauty in places where it had not been appreciated before. And so, 19th-century painters such as John Coates hugged their heads to the trees to capture the "vertical

woods and the hope to capture their "verdant, sun-splendor." And later, the American romantic Henry David Thoreau built his cabin in the New England woods and wrote poetically about—not nature as its aesthetic virtues—but his intimate contact with plants and animals.

Certainly, there is much to praise in the work of such pioneers: they created new perceptual values that had a vital meaning for the human soul (and also helped to make it

modern environmental movement possible. Yet, there is no such debt in Schaban's book that has more indigenous material. What is in fact made of his story of Gaitan Bogdanov, the sculptor who carved the pipes of the first factory in the city of Moscow, Russia, in 1892? Surely this can easily be seen as an example of humanism, not of environmentalism. A similar ecological surroundings Schaban's book is a study of the importance of forests to the German imagination—something the Nazis eventually exploited in a racist way. Schaban is interested in every aspect of the forest, from its use in literature to its use in art. He is also written at length about the contemporary German artist, Anselm Kiefer, who has painted a series of large drawings entitled the German Forest associations in Berlin. Although in a strange way they seem to glorify the phenomenon of the forest.

In the end, Schama answers so much material that the book pretty much escapes his narrow aim of "celebrating" and becomes, instead, a maddening tour through the thickets of history, with Schama as an eccentric, professional guide, impudently enmeshed with one sort of word after another. Schama's book is often easier to read than it seems. Surprisingly, he never bothers to discuss the general state of estate papers, the prevalence of estate papers, the great landscape painters, Paul Cézanne, preferring to insist to irritate our brains that "the figures made the landscape, the landscape made the figures," the unhelpful "Water Poet" who wrote little sonnets about the navigable

early 17th century, Schumann's narrative is at its most convincing. The author's own words suggest, as he recounts the St. Walter Ranch below the explorer up Yosemite's Yosemite River, and shows how although later meant the facts of his disastrous voyage into a triumphant epic reflecting the Renaissance aspiration with riches and individual glory. Schumann is also excellent at following the themes across time: he is particularly in sight about natural forest, ornamental, from England's Robin Hood to the sacred groves of America's Yosemite Park.

As for what it all means—that will depend on the reader's biases. Yet *Landscapes and Memory* does suggest at least one universal conclusion: the human imagination is deeply entwined with the natural world.

KEYS TECHNOLOGY

HARRY KENTON C.



The secrets of Victoria

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

It has to be the winter, Victoria, as we know, has the mildest climate in Canada, roses at Christmas and actual palm trees—due to the warming waters of the Japanese current that sweeps down the Inside Passage.

That takes on new meaning, of course, with the current crop of sex scandals that is sweetening squeaky-clean Mike Harcourt from office, suggesting other politicians the party that still haunts J. S. Woodsworth and Tommy Douglas and Sandra Skowron, not one of whom was ever detected at the dingy airport baggage stand perusing Playboy.

The laquid city of the newly wet and newly dead hales under its skirts a seething host for the physical pleasures. Perhaps it has something to do with its fake-English veneer that is designed for the tourists. John Major, as we know, is landed for the Elephant after too many drinks when scandals of ready Tory MPs, including a chap who mimed with a plastic bag over his head while in roughly unbecoming, and the latest embarrassment, "The Bitch of England" deputy boss who was dragged off in the boardroom cages.

Poor Harcourt, who looks like an aging pharmacist, is being done in by loose lips. Mike is not his philosophical opposite, Major, is NDP stalwart John Sorenson has been lured from cabinet and oceans and is an "ethical issue" after allegations of unspecified sexual harassment while at the Canada Games in Alberta brought by a courthouse legislative assistant, and allegations by two other women.

Senior members of Harcourt's staff have had to be secretly quipped after distributing sex-mad e-mail on "Internet chat in letter aimed at those 'who need to get laid within 90 hours'."

This brings us back to the water. Previously, we had thought the orchestrated caudrons of Victoria inquiries—stuck off on that island with barely anyone being laid—had concluded the family assumed, but a lack on land.

There was Second minister Jim Nielsen, father of night, who was caught passing his



attention on a lady not his wife by the outraged husband, a small civil servant. An aggrieved chap told the press "I landed him down. He got up, he landed him down again." Nielsen returned to the legislature with a black eye, his career gone.

There was his cabinet mate, former country-and-western disc jockey Bob McLeod, who ordered a hooker up to his room and was so bright as to pay her with his Visa card but had his legislative adviser "Phone the rogues investigating Top Hat Productions 'escort services' came upon the receipt. McLeod wished he was home on the night."

Then there was lawyer Bud Smith, chosen of the big flower trust brokerage money for the Second leadership. Problems soon he fell for Suzanne Di France Charles, divorcee, the belief that cellular phones can't be tapped. His arrangements with his lady friend in the Victoria gown gallery as to who was to bring the

wine and who the choice to their assignments were taped by a police raid and read out on the floor of the legislature. Goodbye Bud.

The Liberals, certainly, drinking that same sweet Victoria tap water, had their own recent soap opera. The face of their leader Gordon Wilson and his political partner Jack Tyshak is too familiar to repeat, leading all the way to the Open House and available at book form at your nearest newsstand.

The latest NDP lapse into incoherence is, come to think of it, just a repeat of the only previous B.C. government run by the same socialist. When they came to power in 1972, a Social Credit MP and former beauty queen had to request the Empress Hotel management to move her room, such was her mission at being kept up all night by the steady tattoo beating on the headboard in the room occupied by a sexually addicted NDP cabinet minister.

David Barrett's government's first scandal came when one of his ministers, Frank Calder, was detected in a car—action a 100-yard view of the premier's office—only caught with his female companion. He was in front of a mirror, but apparently could not wait. He was apprehended in mid-union by a police crew—the cause, he told, perked too close to the hydra.

Such in Victoria, obviously by the tap water. There is something that mothers of ways tell their daughters never go to a party on a boat. Meaning that the sense of suspension at sea leads to an abandonment of the usual customs associated with hotelkeepers.

So it is with island life B.C. lawmakers, their aides, ministers, consultants, forehead-dealers—all have their mind-eyes altered whether they know it or not by their immersion in the party little ghetto by the water, the Empress Hotel of tourists. Even Denise during which they think in the G.P. link, the brandy MP's after did taking their securities to Oak Bay—beyond the Tweed Court Bay—by sherry by the sea.

Do lawmakers at Queen's Park, in the depths of slugging Toronto, have such temptations? Oh course not. Do they diggers of reform in Edmonton have such delights by late dawn? Naturally, no. Winnipeg? Where in Winnipeg would one go for a nooner?

Canada, if it were compassionate, would compensate with the politicians of delirious Victoria, the big spot of green that will be better English and where one can do a house-arrest in a car in the park in February without any chance of children.

The temptation is simply too much. They should be pined, not confided.



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